1999 Smithsonian Folklife Festival





A young woman from the Făgăraș region of Romania embroiders a traditional pattern.
Photo courtesy Village Museum, Bucharest



An example of traditional architecture by the Basotho people, Clarens, Free State, South Africa.
Photo courtesy SATOUR

1999

Smithsonian Folklife Festival

On the National Mall
Washington, D.C.

June 23–27 & June 30–July 4

Co-sponsored by the National Park Service



Smithsonian Institution

Contents

I. Michael Heyman
Culture In and Out of the Museum 2

Bruce Babbitt
Safeguarding Cultural Resources 3

Richard Kurin
Cultural Heritage Development 4

James Early
Values We Bring to Our Work 4

Anthony Seeger
Creating Cultural Heritage through Recordings 6

Diana Parker
Conserving and Creating Cultural Heritage: The Smithsonian Folklife Festival 8

Celebrating New Hampshire's Stories

Betty Belanus and Lynn Martin
Celebrating New Hampshire's Stories 13

James L. Garvin
New Hampshire's Cultural Landscape 17

Burt Feintuch
Fiddle Music, Dance, and Community in New Hampshire 20

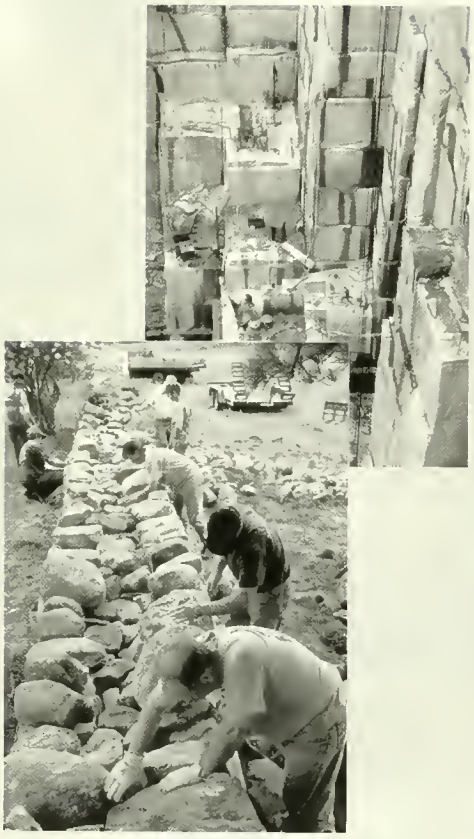
Rebecca L. Lawrence
Making Do: The Aesthetics of Frugality 23

Gary Samson
Le Patrimoine franco-américain/ *Franco-American Heritage in New Hampshire: A Photo Essay* 26

Donald Hall
Granite and Grass 30

David H. Watters
Politics and Community Values 31

Richard Ober
Use and Reservation: Land Stewardship in New Hampshire 34



On the Cover

New Hampshire is nicknamed the Granite State because of the region's abundance of the stone and its many uses. Top: The quarry at Swenson Granite Works in Concord, New Hampshire, has been in the Swenson family for four generations. Above: Stone wall building workshop at Canterbury Shaker Village, Canterbury, New Hampshire, led by master wall builder Kevin Fife.

Photos by Lynn Martin

Background: Though today cranes usually assist in the raising of a post and beam building, members of The Timber Framers Guild of North America sponsor community-based hand-raising projects to keep the old skills alive.

Photo by Tedd Benson

Gateways to Romania

Charles King
Gateways to Romanian Culture and History 38

Colin Quigley, Zamfir Dejeu, and Constantin Costea
Traditional Music and Dance in Romania Today 42

Mihai Pop
Folklore Today 43

Iuliana Ciotoiu and Mihai Dăncuş
Traditional Architecture 47

Nicolae Constantinsecu
Romanian Foodways: A Crossroads of Tastes 49

Georgeta Roşu
Romanian Pottery and Ceramics ... 51

Irina Nicolau
City Life 53

Radu Florescu
Dracula: Hero or Villain? 54

South Africa: Crafting the Economic Renaissance of the Rainbow Nation

James Early
South Africa at the Festival: The Historical Context 58

Ruphus Matibe
South Africa: Crafting the Economic Renaissance of the Rainbow Nation 61

Andrew Tracey
Musical Instruments of South Africa 63

Evelyn Senna
The Role of the Crafter in Development 65

Vusi Mona
Shebeens 67

Eddie Koch
Crafts and the Spatial Development Initiatives 69

Melinda Silverman
Rural Architecture 71

The Fifth Annual Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

A Guiding Spirit: An Interview with Ethel Raim and Martin Koenig 75

Carol Silverman
Yuri Yunakov Ensemble 78

Michael Alpert
Ensemble Tereza 79

General Festival Information

Festival Participants 82

Festival Partners, Sponsors, Contributors, and Donors 86

Festival Staff 90

Associated Conferences and Seminars 92

Educational Offerings 93

Evening Programs Calendar 94

Special Concerts and Events 95

Recent Books about the Festival and Smithsonian Folkways 96

Lily Spandorf Festival Collection 97

Smithsonian Folkways Recordings ... 98

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ASSOCIATE EDITOR: Peter Seitel
ART DIRECTOR: Kenn Shrader
PRODUCTION MANAGER: Kristen Fernekes
DESIGN ASSISTANT: Caroline Brownell

1999

Smithsonian Folklife Festival



Basket weaver, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa. *Photo courtesy SATOUR*

Culture In and Out of the Museum

I. Michael Heyman, Secretary
Smithsonian Institution

Welcome to the 1999 Smithsonian Folklife Festival. On the National Mall of the United States for two weeks culminating with our Independence Day, the Festival enables people to represent their own cultural traditions and creativity, and celebrate these with fellow citizens of the nation and visitors from around the world.

This year, we host programs on New Hampshire, Romania, and South Africa. A central theme is the ability of diverse people from three continents, living with incredible societal changes, to use their own deeply held cultural traditions as a means of crafting their own identities, their own stories, their and our very future.

Celebrating New Hampshire's Stories points to the many ways people from that fiercely democratic state define their lives. The state's natural bounty is continually expressed in the arts and enjoyed with the help of varied crafts and skills that serve a vibrant recreational and tourism industry. Economic life illustrates ingenuity and a historic continuity with traditional manufacture, both in large corporate workplaces and smaller, high-tech, precision manufacturing shops. Community life reflects a strong investment in the historic preservation of the built environment and participation in institutions such as town meetings, contra dances, and *soirées* that bring people together just when other forces in society tend to keep them apart. And the life of our nation itself is dramatically shaped by the most contemporary of conversations that traditionally occur in New Hampshire cafés and living rooms during presidential primary campaigns.

Gateways to Romania is an apt title for what is, in effect, an opening at the Festival of relationships between the American and Romanian people. The Festival program, and the process of achieving it, represent an important collaboration between Romania and the United States. Following decades of political repression, Romanians now seek the means of realizing a democratic and humane society. The cultural correlates of such a society are freedom of cultural expression, and the ability to practice and preserve one's traditions as well as create new cultural syntheses. Romania has long been a cultural crossroads with Latinate, Orthodox, Balkan, Germanic, Hungarian, Roma, Turkish, and Jewish influences in music, song, dance, craftsmanship, sacred and culinary arts. The Festival provides both a showcase and a means for culture-rich Romania to use its treasures, for the benefit of its own citizens and to inform Americans about its people and heritage.

South Africa: Crafting the Economic Renaissance of the Rainbow Nation reveals the attempts of thousands of community-based craftspeople to enhance their economic development and civic participation through their artistry. Crafts in South Africa are as diverse as the Rainbow Nation itself, drawing upon the generations-old traditions of indigenous people and those of Asian and European immigrant communities, from functional crafts of everyday use to the arts of survival that developed in townships. For many, crafts have a civic as well as an economic role, expressing the identity of a community while at the same time earning income for a family's livelihood. The Festival is part of an ongoing attempt to build upon the knowledge and skills of local-level artists in order to help build a new nation based upon human and cultural rights and economic opportunity.

Though cultural displays may try to crystallize and signal what lies beyond them, culture is never bounded by the exhibits in our museums or the performance stages at the Festival. The Festival, as a museum-like event, tries to show this. For museums and their programs to be vital, they must tap into the vitality that is around them. Doing this will always necessitate research and collecting, not only on historical traditions but on emerging forms of expression — for history does not stop. Most of all, as institutions of public life, museums must help nurture and distribute knowledge — a fundamental prerequisite of a truly democratic, free society. Museums can provide the space — real, symbolic, and virtual — wherein people can make their own culture, and make culture their own. The Festival, and the folks from New Hampshire, Romania, and South Africa, do this very well.

Safeguarding Cultural Resources

Bruce Babbitt, Secretary
Department of the Interior

Conservation of natural and cultural resources is an important aspect of the Department of Interior's mission, one shared with the Smithsonian Institution. This, and our custodial responsibility for the National Mall through the National Park Service, have formed the basis of our co-sponsorship of the Folklife Festival for three decades.

Conservation does not mean freezing something in amber or in a museum case, setting aside land or a historically important site to remain untouched and unseen. It means custodial care or stewardship, the prudent use of resources in a sustainable way, so that the bounty we have received can be bequeathed to the next generation, hopefully with value we have added to it. Conservation, in this sense, is serious societal business.

In the last decade we have seen an increasing awareness of the importance of cultural resources in urban renewal, regional tourism, and economic development efforts, and as the basis of conveying the lessons of history to our children and fellow citizens. The Department of Interior and the National Park Service have supported several programs such as the Heritage Corridors and American Heritage Rivers to enable concerned communities to develop cultural resources in a meaningful, sustainable way. These efforts involve partnerships between local, state, and national agencies; the public and private sector; and business, academic, and voluntary groups. Indeed, the incremental movement toward democracy and citizens' participation observable over the past decade and century informs our work in cultural conservation. Decisions are not made and promulgated from the top down or from centers of power to the peripheries. Instead, we have come to expect local groups to participate more in dialogues about, and take greater responsibility for, the conservation, use, and development of their cultural resources.

We see this movement represented at this year's Festival with programs on New Hampshire, Romania, and South Africa. As illustrated at the Festival, people in New Hampshire have used their ample natural resources for building cultural tourism and recreation industries. They have invested in arts of historic renovation to give character and meaning to villages, towns, and homes. They have inherited attitudes of ingenuity and applied them to contemporary technical manufacturing purposes. And they have taken a tradition of grassroots democracy and turned it into a civics lesson for the modern world.

Romania's participation in the Festival provides a gateway for cultural dialogue, both within that nation and with a broader world. For cultural resources to have value they must be shared or exchanged. Though several Romanian writers and artists achieved international repute over the past decades, cultural creativity and interaction were generally limited by a repressive regime. With democratic and economic reforms comes a desire by many Romanians to look at their rich cultural traditions — such as those displayed on the National Mall — and devise means for encouraging increased cultural production, creativity, and engagement that contribute to civic life and a prosperous economy.

For South Africa, culture is the lifeblood of the nation. People's culture — expressed in song, dance, plays, murals, posters, arts of adornment, and crafts — provided a vehicle for the anti-apartheid freedom movement that created the new South Africa, and captured the world's imagination. Now, as demonstrated at the Festival, South Africans seek to use a diversity of aesthetic traditions and local, community-based cultural productions for the purposes of economic development and attendant civic participation.

The Festival has long helped people from all regions of the United States and places around the world to define, express, and present their cultural aspirations to a broad public. We have come to see those people as cultural resources in their own right, as repositories of knowledge, skill, artistry, and even wisdom who have the ability to add to and carry their cultural traditions forward to the next generation. And at the Festival they show us how. The Festival is an exercise of cultural democracy in the heart of the free world; we are proud to help in its annual production.

Cultural Heritage Development

Richard Kurin

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival, from its inception, has been conceived as a way of helping people keep their culture alive and well. Seen in relation to the Smithsonian's museums, the Festival has stressed living cultural traditions rather than artifacts. While curated and researched, the Festival has relied upon substantive partnerships with the people, communities, and institutions being represented. It has depended more upon people to sing, perform, craft, demonstrate, discuss, and reflect on their own culture than on more mediated forms of communication. The Festival has always been concerned with the consequences and impacts of cultural representation for democratic processes and economic vitality. Other projects connected with the Festival produced by the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, such as Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, cultural education programs, traveling exhibitions, films, education kits, and training programs, are generally conceived of in the same way. The concern about keeping people's culture alive and well is nowadays referred to as cultural heritage development.

Cultural Heritage and Development

Cultural heritage is a community's self-recognition of its current and historical accomplishments, products, activities, and forms of expression. Cultural heritage is construed and articulated by people as a symbol of their identity, a selection from history and social action of particular — usually valued — accomplishments, traditions, and events. Cultural heritage is often spoken of in terms of tangible items — monuments, historic sites, artwork, books, for example — and intangible forms — songs, stories, public celebrations. Cultural heritage might be further differentiated by the sociology of its creation, use, and control. Charles Seeger, a noted ethnomusicologist, proposed the division of cultural traditions into elite, popular, and folk. "Elite" consists of those traditions often thought of as classical, requiring a great deal of for-

Values We Bring to Our Work

James Early

We bring a range of values to our work, guided by a variety of academic and technical disciplines. Each discipline, each set of values, contributes to our study and understanding of contemporary grassroots cultures.

We also hold some values in common. We share a commitment to the Smithsonian's mandate to increase and diffuse knowledge. We seek to produce sound scholarship and impart useful educational information and materials. We also share the inheritance of our predecessors at the Center, who founded, nurtured, revised, and expanded the Folklife Festival into the web of research, education, recordings, exhibitions, cultural activism, and applied policy programs it has become.

Ralph Rinzler stands out among the people inside and outside of the Smithsonian — formal and lay scholars, professional and community artists, and cultural activists — who shaped the vision and philosophy of the Festival. Ralph combined a keen aesthetic sensibility with a deep commitment to social justice. He saw and helped others see the need for the recognition, respect, and participation of tradition bearers in the validating institutions of public life. He expressed his knowledge and belief in writing, Festival production, and most clearly in fighting for access for diverse cultural communities, scholars, and cultural activists to speak, write, sing, and perform on their own cultural terms, thus contributing to the development of our national and global cultural life. Each succeeding generation of staff has brought new sensibilities, projects, and programs to the fur-

mal training and highly organized social institutions for their practice and continuity. Popular culture is more the domain of the mass market: culture created and distributed by companies for widespread consumption. Folk culture or folklife is oriented toward more orally transmitted, intangible living traditions produced and reproduced at a grassroots community level. As a term, *folklife* is variously known in the United States and other nations as grassroots culture, popular culture, traditional culture, folklore, or ethnographic culture. In the 1976 Folklife Preservation Act, the U.S. Congress defined folklife as "the totality of tradition-based creations of a cultural community, expressed by a group or individuals and recognized as reflecting the expectations of a community in so far as they reflect its cultural and social identity; its standards and values are transmitted orally, by imitation, or by other means. Its forms are, among others, language, literature, music, dance, games, mythology, rituals, customs, handicrafts, architecture, and other arts." That definition was mirrored by UNESCO member states in a 1989 Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore.

The Smithsonian Folklife Festival took the term *folklife* in 1967 from Don Yoder's use of it for the Pennsylvania Folklife Festival. Following Scandinavian usage, it signified a broader frame of reference than folklore or oral narrative, to include crafts, food, and other forms of expressive culture. *Folklife* also contrasted with *folk* as an increasingly commercialized genre of the urban revival of rural folk music familiar to Festival founder James Morris, who had organized the American Folk Festival in Asheville, North Carolina, and to the

Pursuit of professional standards, people-centeredness, and community agency comprise the value matrix we bring to our work.

therance of these goals.

As cultural workers, we are people-centered. The values that measure the worth of our achievements and distinguish them from those of other scholars are located in the agency of the grassroots communities with whom we work. We value collaboration with the vibrant, lived experiences of cultural communities. We recognize their ability to draw on their historically formed and practiced antecedents to negotiate forbidding challenges. We acknowledge their need to take advantage of all-too-infrequent opportunities for improvement in their material lives, to gain access to fuller recognition, to demand wholesome representation, and to participate actively in the broader society. Like professional colleagues in related fields of cultural work, we are keenly interested in cultural processes and products. However, we try to avoid blind allegiance to ideal professional standards or the mechanical demands of bureaucracies (ours included). Pursuit of professional standards, people-centeredness, and community agency comprise the value matrix we bring to our work. Grassroots community is our active colleague, not our passive subject of inquiry and complex intellectual description. Therefore, we value professional colleagues and cultural community collaborators as peers.

Reciprocity is another key value. We seek projects built upon the exchange of information and experiences with colleagues and communities. We value the critical skills and reformative attributes of grassroots communities that enable internal evaluation of continuity and change in cultural practices. We are conscious of the use-value of our education and skills, our institutional linkages and resources, our global networks and access to governments. We employ our positions to assist communities in raising their visibility, amplifying their voices, and expanding their access and resources. We recognize our privileged status in the relationship; yet we do not (cannot) empower or authorize community agency.

We are mindful that ideal goals and working relationships described in our statement of values are general and elusive guidelines. They are impeded, redirected, and recast by the very agency of the partners with whom we work. We are also aware that without those guidelines and respect for community agency, we run the risk of resorting to what interests us rather than the institutional value of full community access to and participation in democratic institutions, capital-economic resources, and cultural respect by fellow citizens in national and global communities.

James Early is director of cultural heritage policy at the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.

Festival's first director, Ralph Rinzler, who served as head of research and programming at the Newport Folk Festival. The Smithsonian Folklife Festival has generally viewed the idea of cultural community as exceedingly broad, conducting research and producing public programs on a wide variety of communities whose traditions are defined in ethnic, racial, occupational, religious, familial, regional, national, associational, and topical terms. While the Folklife Festival has featured the traditions of numerous American ethnic groups, American Indian communities, and national and regional cultures, it has also examined the culture of occupations ranging from cowboys to trial lawyers, farmers to scientists; communities defined by institutions, like the White House and numerous unions

Creating Cultural Heritage through Recordings

Anthony Seeger



Research documentation is housed in the Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections at the Smithsonian. Here, head archivist Jeff Place looks for a recording. *Photo by Kenn Shrader*

Some people think recordings are just entertainment. Other people consider them a kind of scholarly publication. Yet others imagine them to be the source of vast income. At Smithsonian Folkways Recordings we have our own ideas about the significance of the recordings we put out — entertaining though they may be, scholarly though they may seem, and unprofitable as they are.

Until little more than a hundred years ago, no one could hear exactly the same sound twice. People tried to write down sounds but could only do so approximately. A vast part of human cultural heritage was transmitted personally — visually and aurally — through demonstration and instruction. With the invention of audio recording technology, and later film and other media, more resources have become available for passing on traditions from one generation to another as well as from one place to another. Today most people in the world listen to more recorded performances than live ones, and recordings have become one of the means through which cultural heritage is demonstrated, celebrated, and passed on.

Communities everywhere are documenting their traditions on audio and video recordings. Most media, however, have a shorter life span than a person: a person may live 80 or more years; a digital audio tape (DAT) may last fewer than ten, and in humid, tropical climates, videotape may become unplayable after only a year or two. Only if they are deposited in archives and the sound transferred from medium to medium will the documents of human cultural heritage survive far into the next century.

Publishing recordings is another way to increase the chance of their survival. When we sell 2,000 copies of the sounds of performers in western Sumatra, we spread them to countries all over the world, where some may survive, even if the master tapes are destroyed by natural disaster or war. Even in the United States — which has suffered fewer wars than other countries, has a temperate climate, and has audio archives — master discs and tapes of recordings done in the 1920s often no longer exist, but good copies can be made of the 78 rpm discs that were produced from them.

Many of our recordings are produced through collaboration with specific communities that seek us out and want us to publish their music. They see a recording as conferring prestige on their traditions. Taking the recording back to their communities, they can both demonstrate its significance to others and preserve the sounds of some of their best practitioners. Some communities, like the Old Regular Baptists of the Indian Bottom Association, approve of our publishing their beautiful singing because the Smithsonian is a non-profit institution; for them music is not something performed for money, but for faith. They also wrote many of the notes accompanying the recording and determined its cover art. They felt very much that the recording represented their intentions, and their experience has been shared by many other individuals and communities.

In some cases, Folkways keeps in print recordings of the last known performers of a genre — like the sacred chants of the Selk'nam in Tierra del Fuego, who no longer perform them. The survival of the genre is now entirely through media, at least for now. In other cases, recordings

and guilds; cultural communities, like those of the deaf, who have built intricate systems of communication and expression; and communities of interest, like those of the Civil Rights movement, the Farm Workers movement, ham radio operators, and the like.

Due to its very nature, the Festival recognizes the real people who practice their culture, not just the abstract forms of traditions. The Festival develops an ethical relationship with those people; to invest in them is to invest in what they do, even when what they do may extend far beyond the bounds of traditional practice. It is impossible to find in the world the operation of singular cultural systems, untouched by others. Indeed, the social world is now characterized by the intersection and interpenetration of various cultural systems. Local musical traditions developed in a South African township may reach around the world through the electronic media. A local tale based on the historical Dracula may be radically transformed as it meets the imaginations of others. Conversely, popular traditions with broad geographic and cultural spread may take on particular form and meaning in a localized context. Yankee and French fiddling, meeting in New Hampshire, have developed their own distinctive characteristics and community practices, as have traditions of popular democracy in the state's distinctive American primary electioneering.

Scholars writing about cultural heritage tend to approach the topic as objectivists or processualists. For the former, cultural heritage is an objective set of cultural items and practices, a catalog or inventory of cultural features associated with a particular people or community. This inventory is handed down from one generation to the next, with some items dropping out from disuse and others being added. For the processualists, cultural heritage is something invented and continually reinvented, a way of defining the cultural practices and preferences of a group in the present by referencing the past. Objectivists tend to stress tradition, researching the origins of a particular custom or cultural creation, its history, social and geographical dispersion, and variations in form. Processualists, on the other hand, tend to be more concerned with traditionalization — how various cultural practices, whether old or new, are created, adapted, used, and symbolically manipulated in a community and larger social contexts.

we make revive interest in musical forms. In Nias, an island off Sumatra, a recording in the *Music of Indonesia* series (volume 4) stimulated an enthusiastic revival. In Wisconsin, our recording of polka music as part of the 1998 Smithsonian Folklife Festival received somewhat embarrassed local newspaper reviews acknowledging that polka is part of the heritage of the state — albeit a part of the heritage that some people try hard to forget. What our recording also did, however, was bring polka into the hands of a much larger public.

We make recordings to increase and diffuse knowledge about and through music and the spoken word. In so doing we also contribute to the preservation of part of the cultural heritage of communities around the world. Moses Asch, the founder of Folkways, once said that he was the pen with which his artists created their art. To a certain extent Smithsonian Folkways Recordings is the vehicle through which individual artists and communities contribute to the celebration and preservation of their cultural heritage.

You all can participate in this celebration and preservation by buying Smithsonian Folkways recordings, asking your libraries to buy them, enjoying them, and keeping them safely. Or you can go out and learn a tradition that you can pass on yourself.

Anthony Seeger is curator and director of Smithsonian Folkways Recordings.

Today most people in the world listen to more recorded performances than live ones, and recordings have become one of the means through which cultural heritage is demonstrated, celebrated, and passed on.

The Festival is not about theatricalized folklore or idiosyncratic representations of cultural heritage. In privileging the cultural community, it seeks connections between artistic and cultural expressions and the economic and civic life of its members. Less an exercise in academic definition, the task is to understand, present, and encourage ongoing cultural creativity — the extension of those cultural traditions in a dynamic sense by the people who make, hold, and nourish that culture. That is, one of the aims of the Festival is to enable people to develop and continue to develop their own cultural heritage.

But What Is Development?

Development also has a history of definition. In the 19th century, development meant moral and material progress, measured along a single, unilineal, racialistic scale of cultural evolution. The accomplishments of Victorian Englishmen were at the top of the scale, with various peoples and races accorded lesser positions in descending order from civilization to barbarism to savagery. The cultural heritage of most people was generally thought to be inimical



Leona Watson engages Miss Etta in an impromptu interview at the 1991 Virgin Islands Folklife Festival restaging on St. Croix.
Photo by Joan Wolbier

Conserving and Creating Cultural Heritage: The Smithsonian Folklife Festival

Diana Parker

The Festival has been called many things — an exercise in cultural democracy, a living exhibition, a radio that tunes in the whole wide world. It is, at different times, all of these things. But first and foremost, it is a calculated strategy to preserve cultural heritage.

The Festival encourages cultural conservation directly. By bringing stellar artists to the National Mall and presenting them to appreciative audiences of over a million people, the Festival hopes to convey to the tradition bearers, and those who follow in their footsteps, how important their skills and knowledge are to a broad public, and how much loved. At a time when "cultural grey-out" is a worldwide phenomenon, it is critical to remind our cultural exemplars and their children how important they are to us all. In the words of cultural activist and folklorist Alan Lomax, "The aim of this Festival is not to make America proud of its folklore or to put on an affair that will please Washington and the Smithsonian, but to provide support for the big river of oral tradition which is now being dissipated and corrupted all over the planet. We cannot foresee what we would do if we did not have this river of pure creativity always revivifying our culture, but life would be a very sorry thing if it dried up."

The Festival also encourages grassroots cultural heritage by the method of its production. Each year we work closely with our counterparts in the communities represented on the Mall. Unlike other exhibitions in which a curator may select the objects to be presented, a Festival program is a joint negotiation between senior Festival staff and cultural specialists from featured communities. That is, people involved in the Festival have to figure out how to represent their culture, to imagine and present their culture as heritage. While this is not the easiest way to produce an event for either group, it is certainly the most educational. Many

to development. Development or cultural evolution occurred over time, through the survival of better social and economic need-meeting practices, through borrowing of inventions and innovations from more evolved societies, and forced imitation through colonialism. This idea of development continued with 20th-century modernization theory, with cultural heritage used as a residual category to explain irrationalities in society — values and practices that hampered populations from embracing the work ethic, consumerism, and efficient, utilitarian institutions. World War II demonstrated quite clearly that economic development did not necessarily mean moral superiority. And in the post-war world, various global accords have established standards of development comprising nutrition, health, and other quality-of-life measures, including political, civil, and cultural rights — the rights to speak one's own language, believe in and practice one's own religion, and so on. At this point, the end of the 20th century, we have witnessed enough alternative modes of being developed. Capitalism has prospered in the cultural context of Japanese values and the social system of Hong Kong and southern China. Modern art, science, and computer work nowadays come from India. Musical culture the world over has grown from the infusion of African and Latin styles. There is no cultural monopoly on development.

groups, having put together the necessary infrastructure to help us produce the Festival, have kept the team together to reproduce the event "back home." Often, the team then lives beyond the "restaging" to continue to work on research and presentation. Both Iowa from '96 and Wisconsin from '98 have staff originally hired for the Festival still employed and actively doing critical cultural conservation work.

Finally, the Festival also attempts to aid in cultural conservation by supporting our participants' attempts at economic viability. At this year's Festival, through Smithsonian Folkways recordings, sales of artists' creations at the Festival Marketplace, and attempts to connect traditional craftspeople with larger markets, we work to provide tradition bearers with the livelihood necessary to allow them to continue their art. This is new territory for us, and we are learning how complex and challenging it is, but unless people can retain aesthetic, economic, and legal control over their artistic forms and receive some reward for it, these forms will surely die out as people face the necessity of supporting their families. Indeed, such a strategy, like the Festival itself, confirms that cultural traditions are vital and adaptable, and develop as real, living people connect their artistry with life.

Diana Parker is director of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival.

The Festival is not about theatricalized folklore or idiosyncratic representations of cultural heritage. In privileging the cultural community, it seeks connections between artistic and cultural expressions and the economic and civic life of its members.

Why Now?

Cultural heritage has assumed major importance in the world today for several reasons.

Politically, issues of cultural identity and the cultural affiliations of transnational, national, and subnational populations are crucial in the definition and continuity of national and regional identity. The United States experienced the so-called culture wars in the early 1990s and faces future challenges with regard to an increasingly diverse population, the growth of Latino populations, multilingual school-age populations, and the need to accommodate the differences in lifestyles and values among a wide variety of groups within a common civic framework. The Soviet Union, a former superpower, was undermined in part because of its failure to deal adequately with its diversity of peoples, its varied linguistic and ethno-national groups. Similar concerns about the relationships between mainstream culture and that of various marginalized communities constituted on the basis of regionality, religion, race, language, origin, have become political issues in Canada, China, Nigeria, Germany, Brazil, Turkey, Israel, Mexico, Australia, California, and New York City. Policies have varied from integrationist to segregationist, from en-

couraging complementarity to autonomy, from broadening to restricting civil rights. How to hold civil society together and successfully negotiate varied types of cultural difference and similarity are the key political questions of the new millennium.

On the economic front, culture has become big business. Tourism is the world's largest industry, according to the World Bank, now surpassing oil. Couple the cultural component of tourism with the entertainment industry, parts of the communications, handicrafts, and other industries, and the economic value of cultural consumption becomes obvious. The cultural economy exists on both a local and global scale. The global mass-culture industry produces products and services for worldwide distribution, often competing with and, as Alan Lomax long ago warned about, squeezing out local forms of culture. Inspiring both economic envy and intellectual approbation, companies like Disney, Time Warner, and Discover create and distribute cultural products, many of which purport to be authentic, educational, and socially useful while making billions of dollars in profit. On the other hand, local cultural products, at least not at first controlled by the mass-culture industry, have not only succeeded within their communities of origins but have gone far beyond them toward worldwide distribution. Witness South African choral music, Thai food, Dominican *merengue*, Bombay films. With this new hyper-global/local economy, issues of economic benefits, rights, and opportunities are becoming increasingly important. The World Bank has initiated a cultural heritage and development program, giving loans and grants to governments to utilize cultural resources in ways that will generate income and alleviate poverty. Others can be expected to follow suit, challenging industry giants or finding niche markets as cultural products assume value in an information-age service economy. The challenge: how to be true to one's culture while at the same time making money in order to sustain it.

Contemporary Strategies for Cultural Heritage Development

Nation-states may undertake activities that do encourage cultural heritage development at a local, regional, or national level. They may also discourage such development, regarding the cultural heritage of certain of their citizens as problematic or against the interests of the state. Nation-states including the United States use a variety of methods to affect cultural heritage development, from direct subsidies and support to artists, scholars, and institutions such as university departments, archives, and museums, to tax credits for donors for preserving historical property and other cultural resources; copyright protection; the development of cultural tourism; and other programs. While state policy and programs may help or hinder development, they are becoming less influential. Decreasing public expenditures for culture worldwide, the expansion of the multinational corporate culture industry, privatization initiatives, and new global technologies indicate that, if people are to have some control over the fate of their own culture, they are going to have to take responsibility for their own cultural development. The following are integral elements of a community-based cultural heritage development strategy.

Cultural Enterprise. Not all aspects of a community's culture are commercially exploitable, nor should they be. Many religious and sacred expressions, intimate familial practices, and aspects of interpersonal cultural conduct and communication are not likely to have market value. But many other forms of culture — handicrafts, decorative arts, musical performances, buildings and cultural sites, for example — have long been subject to commercial activity, traditionally and within the community. Think, for example, of pilgrimage sites that, while encapsulating deep spirituality and religious practice, are, in many cases, centers of commerce in sacred arts, food, performance, and festivity. The list of commercially exploitable cultural products is expanding in the information age. Stories can be turned into novels, poetry, cartoons, and feature films. Indigenous knowledge can fuel research in the development of nature-based pharmaceuticals. Musical performances can become hit recordings in the entertainment industry. Historic sites can become destinations for millions of tourists from around the globe. Local communities and culture producers need to obtain the means of cultural production and distribute, market, and benefit from their own production. Makers of crafts, who typically earn ten cents on the consumer dollar, need to be closer to those consumers in order to realize more profit. Musicians need to establish their copyrights and receive royalties. Local people have to control their own cultural tourism industries. Cultural projects will require capitalization, loans, and income-generating revenue streams to support activities.

Self-Study and Representation. Good research is indispensable for cultural heritage development projects. Assessments of needs, resources, previous and comparative work, feasibility studies, and evaluations can help assure successful work. Stakeholders are likely to be more involved, committed, and interested in undertaking purposeful, community-oriented research projects than those more removed. The participatory research of those involved, and the research of lay and academic community scholars, is an important resource that increasingly can be relied upon to gather, analyze, and evaluate information. Such research can form the

basis for local researchers and others in the community to develop high-quality cultural heritage productions — educational materials for schools, radio programs, books, exhibits, cultural tourism sites, performance programs, World Wide Web pages — that will represent them both within the community and well beyond.

How to hold civil society together and successfully negotiate varied types of cultural difference and similarity are the key political questions of the new millennium.

Community Institution-Building. Community organizing and institutionalization above and beyond formal government agencies are critical in sustaining cultural heritage efforts. Citizens committees, non-governmental organizations, cooperatives, and other forms are entirely appropriate. Indeed, increased access to technology and information allows all sorts of communities to establish cultural centers — virtual and real — to publish and disseminate information, and engage in all sorts of activities. Community institution-building provides continuity and mechanisms of local control over cultural heritage development.

Networking. Community efforts need not and should not stop at the boundaries of that community or reside solely in its own organizations. Connections to transnational, national, and regional organizations can be a conduit to monetary, advisory, technical, and in-kind resources. Common cause may be made with other similarly situated or interested communities. Funding, political support, and audiences may be mobilized through the use of interpersonal and electronic communications along such a network.

Upgrading of Techniques and Technology. New, innovative techniques may be used to help keep a culture alive. Computerized databases help preserve and teach ancient, endangered languages. Inexpensive tape recorders and video cameras can help document cultural traditions. Electronic bulletin boards can help geographically dispersed community members keep in touch. Web pages allowing for encrypted fiscal transactions can allow craftspeople and musicians to bring their products to very broad markets. Cultural organizations may adapt techniques of business management and marketing, not so much to increase profits but to rationalize operations to achieve sustainability. The adaptation of such techniques and technologies does not necessarily change the culture for the worse — and may enhance the dissemination of traditions, as was the case with radio and recordings for much traditional music in various nations.

Articulation across Sectors. Cultural heritage does not exist in isolation from other aspects of life. Indeed, it develops in concert with, in juxtaposition to, in opposition against, as the expressive forerunner of civic life, political events, economic systems, ecological relationships, psychological patterning, and socialization. Cultural heritage plans need to be articulated with the non-cultural sectors of society in order to be effective. Cultural work implicates political action, economic activity, impacts upon the environment, and so on. Strategic planning with institutions of these other sectors is necessary for systemic, sustainable, and significant cultural heritage development.

My sense is that various types of communities will increase their attempts to articulate, buttress, and expand their cultural heritage as a vehicle for making their way in the world — at the national level but also at the subnational and transnational levels, and among the widest variety of cultural communities. As this occurs, human cultural products — like artistry, knowledge, symbolic elaboration, and meaning — will be ever more crucial in defining value. Recognizing these intangibles as resources of and for the community and its broader reaches will in itself be an interesting task and a worthy objective of cultural workers and institutions. It is sometimes hard to recognize what is so near as so valuable, but it is an important first step in keeping a variety of cultures a vital force in human affairs.

Richard Kurin is director of the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage. A Fulbright scholar and cultural anthropologist with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago, he has taught Social Change and Development at the Johns Hopkins University Nitze School of Advanced International Studies and Public Cultural Work at the George Washington University. He is the author of Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian *and* Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture Of, By, and For the People. *He first worked on the Festival in 1976, and was awarded the Smithsonian Secretary's Gold Medal for Exceptional Service in 1996.*

Celebrating New Hampshire's Stories

This program is produced with the New Hampshire Commission on the Smithsonian Folklife Festival and its non-profit affiliate Celebrate New Hampshire Culture in partnership with the New Hampshire State Council on the Arts, Department of Cultural Resources. The presenting sponsor is Bell Atlantic. Other major sponsors include Fleet Bank NH; Healthsource New Hampshire, A CIGNA Healthcare Company; Public Service of New Hampshire; Sanders, A Lockheed Martin Company; Tyco International Ltd.; the State of New Hampshire; Fidelity Investments; Fisher Scientific International Inc.; and The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.



Celebrating New Hampshire's Stories

Lynn Martin and Betty Belanus

Everyone in New Hampshire has a story to tell. When people think of a "storyteller," they often think of a polished performer with a repertoire of time-honored recitations, legends of the past, or tales of great imagination. In New Hampshire, storytellers are often everyday people with a gift for language and a wealth of human experiences. They come from every walk of life — the logger down the road, the fellow you go snowmobiling with on the weekends, your co-worker at the woolen mill, or someone whose music you dance to at the town hall.

During the research for New Hampshire's presentation at the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, fieldworkers interviewed over 450 individuals practicing a variety of traditional musical forms, crafts, and cooking and occupational skills. All of them shared stories that warmed the heart — stories with lessons about the environment, the way the past teaches us about the future, and the importance of community values. The stories reflect the strong sense of individualism in New Hampshire as well as people's desire to work together toward a common goal.

These stories are often full of colorful characters and people who helped shape the personality of a town or region. They paint pictures of daily life at home and at work — memorable moments with family and friends, dangerous encounters, or funny episodes. These stories are part of a larger heritage of language, poetry, and publishing much cherished in New Hampshire. The love of English is echoed



Hugh Fifield from Canterbury poses outside his barn with his draft horse harness.
Photo by Lynn Martin

in the writings of New England-born writers such as Daniel Webster, who crafted *Webster's Dictionary*; Sarah Josepha Hale, who wrote *Mary Had a Little Lamb* and was the editor for the first woman's magazine from 1828 to 1836; New Hampshire's contemporary poet laureate Donald Hall and past laureate Jane Kenyon. Visiting writers have found inspiration in the abundance of natural resources in New Hampshire. Robert Frost wrote a wealth of poems celebrating the state. Thornton Wilder wrote the play *Our Town* based on the picturesque town of Peterborough, which is the home of the MacDowell Colony, a retreat for writers and artists.

The heritage of the spoken word is celebrated in New Hampshire's Festival program, *Celebrating New Hampshire's Stories*, but stories are also told through crafts, recipes, music and dance, and occupational skills. The "Music of New Hampshire" component of the program honors the musical heritage of Yankee, Franco-American, Polish, Scottish, Irish, Jewish, African-American, and Hispanic communities. The "Home, Town, and Community" area focuses on the cultural traditions that define New Hampshire's sense of place. Domestic and religious crafts and the important political heritage of New Hampshire — the community voice of town meeting and the national precedence of the first-in-the-country presidential primary — are explored in this area.

"Ingenuity and Enterprise" examines the inventive nature of industry and small businesses in New Hampshire. The heritage of family-owned and community-based businesses and the way in which fine craftsmen network through guilds are presented. "Seasonal Work and Recreation" explores the cycle of the seasons and the love of the outdoors in New Hampshire, giving rise to the work culture and traditional crafts of recreation. "Farm, Forest, Mountain, and Sea" takes a look at the occupations that have emerged from the state's diverse natural resources.

These stories of some of the participants in each of these areas will tell you something about New Hampshire, its spirit, and its people.

Hugh Fifield

Hugh Fifield of Canterbury was interviewed by folklorist Jill Linzee for a project initiated by the Vermont Folklife Center on New England storytelling, which paralleled our fieldwork efforts in New Hampshire. She was taken by his "quintessential Yankee" nature as he regaled her with tales of interesting characters he had met and things he had done in his life.



Hugh's rugged hands tell the story of a man who has worked outdoors his entire life — from years on the road crew for the township of Canterbury to his independent logging operation run with draft horses. Today, Hugh keeps busy logging in the woods, collecting maple sap, giving hay rides for local community groups, caring for his animals, and visiting with his large family.

Hugh's stories often feature his dry sense of humor and teasing nature. One of his favorite jokes pokes gentle fun at his wife Dolores, who was a "city girl" when they married and didn't even know how to light a wood fire for heat and cooking. He related the following incident from Canterbury Town Meeting during his days as town road agent:

> You got axes to grind, that's the place to do it. And, usually, we got to arguing over something. The budget ran from January first to January first, a

year, so in the fall, like November and December, you didn't know whether it was going to snow three feet or not get any snow, so you had to kind of watch, save money in your budget. If it worked out, I might have three or four thousand dollars left in my budget. I had this guy get up, and he couldn't figure out why I had money left in the budget, and he figured I didn't do my job — his road could've used that three thousand dollars. So, I had to get up and tell him, "We've got to spend what we got, we can't spend what we ain't got." (Pause) But, that was usually a lawyer, that got up and did that.



Galina Tregubov from Claremont, seen here with her son, embroiders elaborate Russian Orthodox icons. To the delight of the Russian community in the state, she has updated this art which dates back to the 10th century with a sort of Yankee ingenuity: instead of the traditional fragile silk thread, she uses practical and durable pearl cotton embroidery floss.

Photo by Jill Linzee

Paul Doherty

Paul Doherty grew up in southwestern New Hampshire, but his heart always belonged to the northern woods. As a lad, he learned to hunt and fish from several local outdoorsmen, who were also notorious characters. For many years, he served as a state conservation officer in the northern district of the state, and settled in Gorham. His fascination with the newfangled "snow machine" — later known as the snowmobile — led him to head the Bureau of Off-Highway Vehicles.

Throughout his career, he sought out old-timers and colorful individuals, listening to their stories and absorbing their wisdom. Today, at 80, he still enjoys the North Woods in all seasons and still has an ear for a good story. Paul was interviewed twice during our documentation process, once by folklorist Kate Dodge, who researched snowmobiling traditions, and once by folklorist Jessica Payne for the storytelling project. But it is his self-published book, *Smoke from a Thousand Campfires*, that yielded the following humorous tale:

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Community Projects: Newport and Portsmouth

During the research phase for the Festival, the curators became aware of community projects that involved the creative and artistic interpretation of oral histories and folklore. A multifaceted project in Newport, a former textile mill town and a center for the precision machine tool industry, turned oral history into poetry with the help of poet Verandah Porche. During the Portsmouth Shipyard Project, initiated by the Portsmouth Music Hall, workers at the shipyard, where submarines are repaired and overhauled, joined the Washington, D.C.-based Liz Lerman Dance Exchange in an interpretation of their occupational folklore and history. Both projects involved schoolchildren, reinforcing the importance of a connection between the generations. These projects will be part of the "Ingenuity and Enterprise" portion of the Festival program.

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our house and play games, Hide and Seek, and stuff like that, Giant Steps. Most everybody spoke English. If they got mad at us, they could swear at us in their language, and it wouldn't make a difference.

Dudley Laufman and Bob McQuillen

Two of the most active individuals in traditional social dancing in New Hampshire are Dudley Laufman and Bob McQuillen. Both have been playing music in the state for over 50 years. Dudley was born in Newton, Massachusetts, in 1931 and came to New Hampshire in 1947 to work at Mistwold Dairy Farm, Fremont, where he was exposed to New Hampshire traditional dances. Many musicians got their start in Dudley's first group, called The Canterbury Country Dance Orchestra. Along with his partner Jacqueline, Dudley focuses on bringing back many of what he refers to as New England barn dances.

Bob McQuillen was born in Peterborough, New Hampshire. Known for his steady, rhythmic piano playing, he is also a prolific composer of tunes, 1,003 of which appear in a series of self-published tune books called *Bob's Notebooks*. His first New Hampshire-based group was called New England Tradition. Today he plays with Deanna Stiles and Jane Orzechowski in a group called Old New England.

In such a small state, it is inevitable that two such musical giants would have great stories about their times together. At a recent recording session Dudley shared this one about the first time he met Bob McQuillen:

> I went to Norfolk County Agricultural School and went to the New England Folk Festival back in the days when it was held on the fifth floor of the YWCA on Clarendon Street in Boston. Bob McQuillen had come down from Dublin; in fact, in those days he was living in New Boston. He was all dressed in white and he had a great big old Wurlitzer accordion.
>
> Back in those days Bob's hair was blacker than it is now, but it was still streaked with gray, and he was only in his 20s. He was an ex-Marine, he had tattoos on his biceps, and he was a big fellar, and he made a lot of noise. Not only with his accordion, but he whooped and he hollered, and everybody loved him.
>
> When the festival was over, we all trooped down the stairs, and Bob was leading, and he had his accordion, and he was sort of playing and whistling, and we went right out onto the street. Our car was parked up on the right, and evidently Bob's truck was out on the left. And we went out the door, and my mother, my father, my sister, and myself — we all automatically just followed Bob right on down the street — forgetting that our car was up the other side. That was the effect that he had on me as a little kid.

We hope that, like the mesmerizing effect Bob McQuillen's music had on Dudley Laufman, the stories that the New Hampshire participants have to share at the Festival will captivate visitors with their honesty, wit, and wisdom.

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Suggested Reading

Doherty, Paul T. 1992. *Smoke from a Thousand Campfires*. Berlin, N.H.: Smith & Town Printers.

"The Music Hall's Shipyard Project." 1996. Portsmouth, N.H. Program book with historic photos, stories, and interviews.

Porche, Veranda. 1998. *SPIN (Self-Portraits in Newport)*. Published as part of the New England Arts Trust Congress IV, Newport, N.H.

Information about the Vermont Folklife Center's New England Storytelling Project can be obtained by calling the Center at (802) 338-2694.

Betty J. Belanus is an education specialist at the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage and has been working on the Festival since 1986. The New Hampshire program is the third program she has co-curated; she went solo on two others.

Lynn Martin is traditional arts coordinator for the New Hampshire State Council on the Arts in Concord. She formerly held a similar position in Hawai'i for 15 years and has published numerous articles, exhibition catalogs, and audio recordings on traditional culture. Despite the drastic change in weather, she has enjoyed learning about the traditions of her adopted state during this project.

New Hampshire's Cultural Landscape

James L. Garvin

New Hampshire is a museum of its own history. About 10,000 people lived here in 1730, after a century of European settlement. The state's population has grown to over a million, yet things that were familiar to the people of 1730 can still be seen today, along with everything that has accumulated since.

The history of New Hampshire, like that of much of the United States, is a story of initial settlement, the clearing and cultivation of the land, the rise of industry, the arrival of new immigrants from many parts of the world, the decline of small-scale farming, the growth of tourism, and the advent of a service economy.

The landscape here is a gift of nature, great in beauty but meager in fruitfulness. The state's lofty mountains have slopes too steep and soil too thin to yield any crop but timber. Its innumerable streams flow too rapidly to form flood plains with rich, level land. The soil is fertile but so filled with glacial debris that the most permanent record of three centuries of farming is written in thousands of miles of stone walls. New Hampshire's cool, salubrious summers are counterbalanced by long, cold winters that drive frost three feet into the ground.

Over nearly 400 years, with immense human labor and ingenuity, New Hampshire people have transformed their natural environment. Settlers in the 17th century began the generations-long task of subduing the forest, making wood products our first great export. New Hampshire pine supplied masts for the Royal Navy and houses for the Caribbean; oak made ships and casks. New Hampshire people became masters of the use of wood, and this skill remains powerful today.



Located northeast of Lake Winnipesaukee, the town of Tamworth has a beautiful complex of typical 18th-century buildings, including a town hall and a church. The Remmick Country Doctor Museum, with its historic farm buildings, adds to the historic character of the town. *Photo by Lynn Martin*

New Hampshire became a place of farms, part of a New England that increasingly resembled old England. By 1830, 80 percent of New Hampshire's land was under cultivation. But the northern forest does not submit permanently to the plow; it regenerates itself. Woodlands have reclaimed much of New Hampshire as farming has declined. Today, New Hampshire is over 80 percent forested. Products from a renewed and husbanded forest still represent one of New Hampshire's great industries and exports.

People learned to split and shape the stone that lay everywhere in the "Granite State." Beginning in the 1780s with the glacial boulders that litter the landscape, stonecutters began to transform granite into building materials. By 1840, quarrymen had begun to penetrate solid ledges, discovering stone of many colors and grains. The most famous is Concord granite, one of the whitest in the world, with a fineness that tempts the hand of the sculptor. The state capitol was built from Concord granite in 1819; so was the Library of Congress in 1890. New Hampshire retains a powerful role in America's granite industry today.

New Hampshire learned to use the cold of its long winters. Before the advent of the railroad in the 1840s, it was during the winter that most of New Hampshire's produce found its way to market on horse-drawn sledges over frozen roads and snow. Until the development of mechanical refrigeration in the 20th cen-

tury, the ice of New Hampshire's pure lakes was cut into thick cakes and sent by rail or ship to cool the food and drink of Boston, New York, Savannah, and even India and South Africa.

Scandinavian immigrants of the late 19th century discovered the greatest economic value of New Hampshire's winters. Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns introduced skiing into a land that had known only Indian snowshoes, transforming New Hampshire's snow-covered mountain slopes into one of the first winter resort areas of the United States.

But more than any of nature's other gifts, New Hampshire came to value its water. Beginning in the 1630s with the construction of some of the first water-powered sawmills in North America, New Hampshire people learned how to harness the power of lakes and streams. By the 1820s, New Hampshire millwrights and engineers had begun to dam and control even the largest rivers. Immense water wheels and systems of pulleys and belts were constructed to power spindles and looms. Brick mills were built that surpassed any structures ever seen in North America.

New Hampshire's industrial development made the state an internationally recognized center of textile production. The Amoskeag mills of Manchester grew to become the world's largest single textile manufacturing complex. By 1870, New Hampshire had become one of the nation's most heavily industrialized states in proportion to its population. It remains so. Industry's ever-increasing demand for labor brought wave after wave of immigrants in the 19th and early 20th centuries, enriching and diversifying New Hampshire's population. Mastery of the many skills needed to manufacture cloth earned New Hampshire a high reputation in engineering, in the production of foundry products, in the machine tool industry, and in power generation and transmission.

But the rise of industry was counterbalanced by the decline of farming. Tired of fighting stony soil and short growing seasons, the children of New Hampshire's farms moved west by the thousands after the Civil War, or turned to nearby cities and mills. By the late 1800s, New Hampshire witnessed the abandonment of farms on a frightening scale.

Turning a crisis into an opportunity, state government allied itself with hundreds of farmers, boarding house proprietors, and hotel operators to make New Hampshire a tourist destination. Capitalizing on the state's beautiful scenery and healthful climate, promoters conveyed an image of New Hampshire as a place of wholesome rest and recreation. "Old Home Week," introduced in 1899, enticed those who had moved elsewhere to return to New Hampshire, perhaps for just one week. Yet the memory of that single week moved many a visitor to buy an abandoned farm or build a lakeside "camp" as a place of yearly summertime refreshment. The tourist boom that was launched in the 1890s has grown to represent New Hampshire's second-largest industry.

New Hampshire townships, the basic units of government in New Hampshire, are filled with dispersed farmsteads and homes. Nearly every township has somewhere within it a town hall, a place where the inhabitants gather one or more times each year to express "the will of the town" in the purest form of democracy known in North America. But the village is the characteristic element in any township. The village may reflect 18th-century origins, perhaps with a common, a church, and a cluster of private dwellings and former stores or taverns. It may be the creation of the railroad, perhaps with brick business blocks, a depot, and a freight house. It may be a place of manufacture, with a great brick mill set next to a stream and a cluster of boarding houses and private homes for mill workers.

New Hampshire was a place of reli-



Above: The double-arched Carr Bridge in Hillsborough, New Hampshire, is a remarkable example of dry masonry stone work. A double-arched bridge allows for the necessary volume of water to flow through and still keeps the height of the bridge consistent with the roadbed. The granite was probably cut from deposits right by the river. *Photo by Lynn Martin*



Right: Floating in a pond, logs dusted with a November snow wait to be pulled into Garland Mills, one of the few water-powered sawmills remaining in New Hampshire. Built in 1856, it is located north of the White Mountains in Lancaster. *Photo by Lynn Martin*

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The most impressive building in many New Hampshire villages is the free public library. New Hampshire claimed the first public libraries in the United States with the establishment of a free public library in Dublin in 1822 and a fully tax-supported public library in Peterborough in 1833. In 1849, New Hampshire became the first state to authorize its towns to raise money by taxation to support such libraries. In 1891, it became the first state to provide state assistance to any town choosing to create a public library. In 1895, it required every town to establish a library unless the electorate voted each year not to do so.

Away from the city and the village, the land in New Hampshire, like the soil of an ancient civilization, holds evidence of more than one stratum of human occupancy. The forest floor is pockmarked with half-filled cellar holes from the age of settlement. Roadways are flanked by stone walls that restrained long-departed herds, stone-lined wells, the foundations of barns, and broken milldams whose streams have reverted to a wild state. This, too, is part of the cultural landscape of New Hampshire, revealing itself only to the sensitive and experienced eye. In certain locations, that eye may also discern traces of the villages and fishing sites of a still earlier people who watched the first European ships land on the New Hampshire coast in the 1620s.



Constant change is written in New Hampshire's cultural landscape. But one image has persisted for many generations. Outsiders and inhabitants alike often regard New Hampshire as an almost mythical place of natural beauty and rectitude, a place where hard work, intelligence, and character will be rewarded with happiness. It is no accident that Thoreau, imagining one place in New England that was still filled with possibility, pointed to "a New Hampshire, everlasting and unfallen."

Suggested Reading

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Hall, Donald. 1987. *Seasons at Eagle Pond.* New York: Ticknor and Fields.

Heffernan, Nancy C., and Ann Page Stecker. 1986. *New Hampshire: Crosscurrents in Its Development.* Grantham, N.H.: Tompson & Rutter, Inc.

Jager, Ronald, and Grace Jager. 1983. *New Hampshire: An Illustrated History of the Granite State.* Woodland Hills, California: Windsor Publications.

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tury, the ice of New Hampshire's pure lakes was cut into thick cakes and sent by rail or ship to cool the food and drink of Boston, New York, Savannah, and even India and South Africa.

Scandinavian immigrants of the late 19th century discovered the greatest economic value of New Hampshire's winters. Norwegians, Swedes, and Finns introduced skiing into a land that had known only Indian snowshoes, transforming New Hampshire's snow-covered mountain slopes into one of the first winter resort areas of the United States.

But more than any of nature's other gifts, New Hampshire came to value its water. Beginning in the 1630s with the construction of some of the first water-powered sawmills in North America, New Hampshire people learned how to harness the power of lakes and streams. By the 1820s, New Hampshire millwrights and engineers had begun to dam and control even the largest rivers. Immense water wheels and systems of pulleys and belts were constructed to power spindles and looms. Brick mills were built that surpassed any structures ever seen in North America.

New Hampshire's industrial development made the state an internationally recognized center of textile production. The Amoskeag mills of Manchester grew to become the world's largest single textile manufacturing complex. By 1870, New Hampshire had become one of the nation's most heavily industrialized states in proportion to its population. It remains so. Industry's ever-increasing demand for labor brought wave after wave of immigrants in the 19th and early 20th centuries, enriching and diversifying New Hampshire's population. Mastery of the many skills needed to manufacture cloth earned New Hampshire a high reputation in engineering, in the production of foundry products, in the machine tool industry, and in power generation and transmission.

But the rise of industry was counterbalanced by the decline of farming. Tired of fighting stony soil and short growing seasons, the children of New Hampshire's farms moved west by the thousands after the Civil War, or turned to nearby cities and mills. By the late 1800s, New Hampshire witnessed the abandonment of farms on a frightening scale.

Turning a crisis into an opportunity, state government allied itself with hundreds of farmers, boarding house proprietors, and hotel operators to make New Hampshire a tourist destination. Capitalizing on the state's beautiful scenery and healthful climate, promoters conveyed an image of New Hampshire as a place of wholesome rest and recreation. "Old Home Week," introduced in 1899, enticed those who had moved elsewhere to return to New Hampshire, perhaps for just one week. Yet the memory of that single week moved many a visitor to buy an abandoned farm or build a lakeside "camp" as a place of yearly summertime refreshment. The tourist boom that was launched in the 1890s has grown to represent New Hampshire's second-largest industry.

New Hampshire townships, the basic units of government in New Hampshire, are filled with dispersed farmsteads and homes. Nearly every township has somewhere within it a town hall, a place where the inhabitants gather one or more times each year to express "the will of the town" in the purest form of democracy known in North America. But the village is the characteristic element in any township. The village may reflect 18th-century origins, perhaps with a common, a church, and a cluster of private dwellings and former stores or taverns. It may be the creation of the railroad, perhaps with brick business blocks, a depot, and a freight house. It may be a place of manufacture, with a great brick mill set next to a stream and a cluster of boarding houses and private homes for mill workers.

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Right: Floating in a pond, logs dusted with a November snow wait to be pulled into Garland Mills, one of the few water-powered sawmills remaining in New Hampshire. Built in 1856, it is located north of the White Mountains in Lancaster. *Photo by Lynn Martin*

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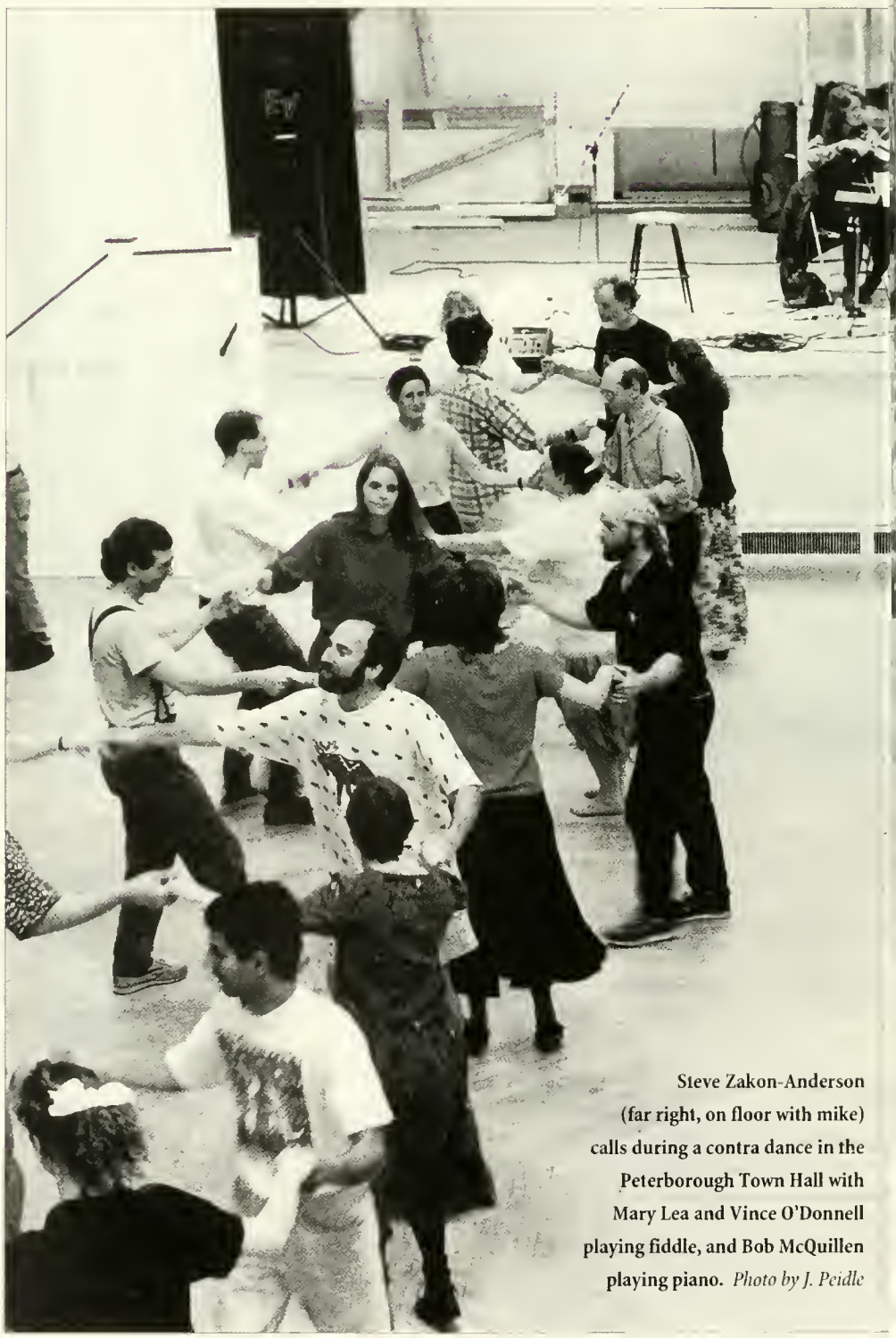
Fiddle Music, Dance, and Community in New Hampshire

Burt Feintuch

In New Hampshire, the music of the fiddle often brings people together, creating moments of deep pleasure and exuberant movement, lifting the ordinary into the realm of art, encouraging notions of community. Of course, music can do this anywhere. But New Hampshire's fiddle music tells us something about how at least some citizens experience that sense of community. This, in turn, tells us something about the state of community in the state of New Hampshire.

Last summer, I was a judge at a fiddlers' competition in the capital, Concord. We heard Franco-American music and the straightforward Northeastern style some people describe as Yankee. Irish and Scottish tunes and styles, and music associated with the flourishing contra dance scene found their way into the mix. There were examples of a generalized Northern contest style, highly technical and precise. Someone from Massachusetts played a high-tech style that transcended New England playing. In short, no one way of playing stood out as emblematic of a distinctive New Hampshire tradition. The fiddling in New Hampshire — and there's lots of it — is not one music.

We need to turn to local settings to learn more about the state's various musical traditions. On Wednesday nights, musicians gather at a small building behind Marcel Robidas's house in Dover that was built for music-making. A dozen or more men and women



Steve Zakon-Anderson (far right, on floor with mike) calls during a contra dance in the Peterborough Town Hall with Mary Lea and Vince O'Donnell playing fiddle, and Bob McQuillen playing piano. *Photo by J. Peidle*

On any given Saturday night, you can find a New Hampshire town hall or grange building hosting a contra dance.



with fiddles, guitars, and other instruments are there. Someone pounds out the rhythm on the piano, and the music cascades from a number of streams of tradition: French-Canadian joining a general Northeast and Maritime repertoire. Marcel was born in Orange, Vermont, to a family of Franco-American heritage, but his music has no single source, no single label. Marcel once mentioned to me that he never thought of himself as a French fiddler until people started "coming around" to interview him about his music. So, although a night playing music at Marcel's might have a French accent, it is actually a merging of many musics. The people who come feel bound by the music. Then they go home to different towns. For musicians in New Hampshire, community and place of residence are not necessarily the same thing.

In the North Country of New Hampshire is Berlin, an old industrial town and home to Larry and Henry Riendeau. The majority of New Hampshire's Franco-American population comes from Québec, but the Riendeaus are Acadian in ancestry, from the Canadian Maritimes. The Riendeau music is deeply anchored in family tradition. At the same time, it helped — thanks to a late-1960s LP that featured Larry and Henry with their father, Louis — to establish a canon of Franco-American fiddle music. Like many creative musicians, they have learned from whoever interested them. Their current repertoire includes tunes from Gerry Robichaud, the excellent New Brunswick fiddler who lives in Massachusetts; Canadian Ivan Hicks, a leading "Down East" fiddler; and Winston Fitzgerald, who was an influential Cape Breton Scottish fiddler. The Riendeaus have long played their music in social clubs, kitchen breakdowns, hunting camps, and other local settings. Their music is based in the community of Berlin, but it connects them to other musicians and

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Steve Zakon-Anderson (far right, on floor with mike) calls during a contra dance in the Peterborough Town Hall with Mary Lea and Vince O'Donnell playing fiddle, and Bob McQuillen playing piano. *Photo by J. Peidl*

other places, reaching well beyond New Hampshire.

On any given Saturday night, you can find a New Hampshire town hall or grange building hosting a contra dance. Callers chant instructions to lines of couples who progress up and down, swinging, balancing, promenading, their bodies propelled by the music. A fiddle and a piano are nearly always at the center of the music, joined perhaps by flute, accordion, guitar, bass, or other instruments. The full story of contra dance remains to be written, but it is clearly a transatlantic story, a transformation of older dance forms, with diverse local inspirations. Two charismatic New Hampshire figures, first Ralph Page and later Dudley Laufman, figure prominently in 20th-century revivals of the music.

Contra dance has become a national form, but New Hampshire receives much credit as the center. Peterborough, Nelson, and Dover are popular contra dance venues. The dancers, though, come from different geographical and social spaces. Some would have once happily described themselves as members of the counterculture. Many are professionals, and many are not originally from New Hampshire. It is the gathering, the music, and the dancing, that create a spirit of community. Even Rodney Miller, a virtuoso who has become one of New Hampshire's best-known contra dance fiddlers and a symbol of New Hampshire for dance enthusiasts around the country, is originally from upstate New York, and became inspired to play for dances while attending a dance and music camp in Massachusetts.

Other fiddle music of many styles can be heard all over New Hampshire.



Members of the Maple Sugar Band rehearse in Marcel Robidas's barn in Dover, New Hampshire.
Photo by Jill Linzee

Contests at Weare and Stark, like the Concord contest, attract fiddlers from the region. The New Hampshire Strathspey and Reel Society meets monthly, playing a Scottish repertoire, under the direction of a Massachusetts musician. Irish sessions abound in bars, and master fiddler Roger Burridge, born in England but apprenticed in Ireland, has a growing presence. Bluegrass groups featuring accomplished fiddlers are scattered across the landscape. Nashua's Wilson Langlois plays old Québecois tunes as well as swing-influenced music from his days with a dance combo. Harvey Tolman, from Marlborough, a descendant of a musical dynasty in the southwestern part of New Hampshire, plays mostly Cape Breton music, having been inspired by a festival in Massachusetts years ago. Contra dance fiddlers often break into Scottish or Irish tunes, thanks to the international growth of interest in musics from those places.

It's tempting, in a state where historical consciousness runs high, to think of fiddle music as old. But today's fiddle music in New Hampshire is as much a product of various sorts of mobility as it is about continuity, reflecting an era in which ways of thinking about locality, identities, and culture are challenged by new ways that people, information, and capital move. Some of the music's character has to do with regional history, especially population movement from Canada to northern New England. Much of it is what folklorists and ethnomusicologists describe as revival music, music played outside its original cultural community. At a time when New Hampshire has seen a considerable influx of people from elsewhere, and when statistics tell of the state's comparative affluence, fiddle music's popularity reflects a desire to create the kinds of communities we imagine were once here. Indeed, it would be very hard to say that New Hampshire fiddle music is significantly different from Vermont's, or Maine's. It's here, though, in its varied forms and settings, and it brings people together. That makes us much better off than we would be without it.

Suggested Listening

***Choose Your Partners, Contra Dance & Square Dance Music of New Hampshire*. 1999. Smithsonian Folkways Recordings SFW 40126.**

***Mademoiselle, voulez-vous danser? Franco-American Music from the New England Borderland*. 1999. Smithsonian Folkways Recordings SFW 40116.**

Burt Feintuch is a professor of folklore and English at the University of New Hampshire, where he directs the Center for the Humanities. A former editor of the Journal of American Folklore, *he is developing, with David Watters, the* Encyclopedia of New England Culture. *He plays the fiddle for dancing with the Lamprey River Band, mostly in New Hampshire's Seacoast region.*

Making Do: The Aesthetics of Frugality

Rebecca L. Lawrence

Use it up
Wear it out
Make it do
Or do without

Every girl who grows up in northern New England hears "make it do, or do without" so often that it creates a permanent wrinkle in her brain. This phrase, expressing the essence of Yankee frugality, also captures the aesthetic of the region's domestic crafts: braided rugs, quilts, stenciling, dried flowers and herbs for winter decorations or sachets, and preserves made from summer harvests.

"Yankees" of my generation (born in the 1940s) who were fortunate enough to grow up in households that allowed frequent contact with their grandmothers had direct experience with the practice of these household traditions. I clearly recall my grandmother ripping old flannel or wool shirts into strips that she twisted into flat braids, then sewed into ovals or circles to cover the cold, winter floors. Many of my great-aunts knitted, crocheted, embroidered, or quilted. Each one became known in the family for the skill in which she excelled.

My grandmother was the best cook among her sisters, and that was the tradition she shared with me: breads, biscuits, shortcakes, pies, puddings, chowders, and stews. As we worked together scooping out butter (in walnut-sized balls) or shaping scraps of pie dough into little jam turnovers and cinnamon-sugar spirals, she mingled her "receipts," which were never written down, with family history and recipes to live by. My favorite homily of hers is:

Be kind to all dumb animals
and give small birds a crumb.
Be kind to human beings, too,
they're sometimes pretty dumb.

Today, we buy pie crusts in ready-made circles. There are no scraps to roll into tiny treats, wrapped in words of wisdom.

I thought about these things when I looked into the craft of stenciling, which my mother practiced as I was growing up. Because this craft, along with other New England domestic crafts, has been so commercialized and oversold for "country" decorating schemes, it's easy to forget its roots and authenticity as it was practiced in rural homes, particularly in the "backwoods" areas of Maine (where I grew up) and New Hampshire. I asked my mother how she learned the technique and her thoughts on whether it was a true tradition or a revival. In her case, she learned how to stencil in the 1930s from someone who was recognized in the community as knowing a lot about it. Why in the 1930s? Because it was Great Depression times, and everyone was looking for different ways of earning a few extra dollars. Practicing crafts at home was one of those ways. My mother and a few of her friends asked the woman to teach them stenciling and decorative painting, which the woman did informally. No money changed hands; "It was about friendship, and she was a nice lady."

Stenciling techniques, which became less important for wall and floor decorations when the Industrial Revolution brought down the cost of wallpaper and patterned rugs, were kept alive, on a much less grand scale, in other trades such as carriage, furniture, and utensil decoration in the period between 1840 and 1930. My mother told me that the woman she learned from taught "old techniques" and that some of her stencils were made from the shellacked brown paper used by Moses Eaton and other itinerant stencil painters from the 1780s to the 1840s. My mother cut her own stencils from architect's linen used for blueprints of the day. During this time an acquaintance of hers found a

Pineapple stencil by Helen Learned of Rumney, New Hampshire.

box of original Eaton stencils in her attic. Her friend shared Eaton's designs with the group.

Moses Eaton moved to Hancock, New Hampshire, from Needham, Massachusetts, in the 1780s. His son, Moses Jr., apprenticed with him, and they both practiced their craft in northern New England. The Eaton descendants, who still live in New Hampshire, do not carry on the family stenciling tradition. These days, stenciling-made-easy kits are a hobby-shop staple: the craft as occupation has outlived its purpose and place in the community. Even so, there are many examples of the Eatons' original work in New Hampshire, and stenciled walls have become a universally recognized symbol of a "New England" aesthetic.

Other New England crafts continue with more vitality, particularly those that have been passed down as family traditions. The idea of turning food scraps into a savory stew or red flannel hash parallels the aesthetic of turning scraps of cloth into a colorful quilt, or braiding worn-out family clothing into a rug. It extends to the notion of finding uses for things that others would discard. Fading flowers, properly dried, turn into wreaths of summer sun to warm homes through the winter's dark days. Brown ash wood to a carpenter has little use, but to a basket maker like Newt Washburn of Bethlehem, New Hampshire, working in his Sweetser family tradition, split brown ash wood turns into baskets for eggs, laundry, berry-picking, and a host of other uses. An old chair with a sagging, ripped bottom doesn't get thrown away. Chair reseaters like Peter Blanchard of Concord, who keeps up his family business, weave the seat again and again. The concept all these crafts have in common is the transformation of trash into treasure.

In New Hampshire, self-sufficient cottage industries like these were the impetus for the League of New Hampshire Craftsmen to form during the Great Depression. As early as the mid-1920s, a few enlightened folks (the Coolidges in Center Sandwich and A. Cooper Ballantine in Wolfeboro) saw the earning potential of isolated farming people with traditional craft skills banding together to expand the market for what they made. They also saw the importance of the master-apprentice system as a way of passing these skills on. They convinced Governor John Winant to provide seed money from the state to create a



Commission on Arts and Crafts in 1931. The commission's report to the governor advocated supporting the highest aesthetic standard for New Hampshire crafts; providing gainful work through home industries, native crafts, and arts; and offering instruction in arts and crafts.

In 1932, the commission became the League of New Hampshire Craftsmen. In the early days, the league was a totally grassroots organization, encouraging the use of local materials like river clay, forming local craft guilds such as the Saffron and Indigo Society, and seeking out old-timers to instruct others in their craft traditions. In 1934 the league organized the first craft fair in the nation at Crawford Notch in the White Mountains. Along with a sales area, the fair had demonstrations of pottery, weaving, vegetable-dyeing, basket-making, woodcarving, and ironworking. Also featured were the singing of old tunes and country dancing.

The league fair, now held each August at Mount Sunapee State Park, has grown to hundreds of booths. Nearly 50,000 people come to see exhibits, demonstrations, and performances as well as to shop. The inventory has expanded to include less functional, more contemporary crafts; but there is still a core selection of traditional New England crafts — mustards, jellies, ironwork, braided and hooked rugs, clay bowls, quilts, dried flower wreaths, woodcarvings, and more. These crafts tell the story of the league's origins and help carry on family traditions in New Hampshire's craft occupations.

A feature of recent league fairs is a "next generation" booth, where the children of league members sell their own crafts, often made from the scraps left over from their parents' work. "Making do" is one aesthetic that remains a thoroughly New Hampshire tradition.

Suggested Reading

Steele, Betty. 1982. *The League of New Hampshire Craftsmen's First Fifty Years.* Concord, N.H.

Rebecca Lawrence is the director of the New Hampshire State Council on the Arts in Concord. She has lived in New Hampshire since 1987, but her Yankee roots date back to the mid-1600s, when her ancestors were pioneers on Sabattus Mountain, Maine.



Above: League of New Hampshire Craftsmen display at the 1939 Durham Fair.
Photo courtesy League of New Hampshire Craftsmen

Left: Gardeners Sandi and Wayne Yacek of Milan have created a home business out of the traditional skills of making ornamental wreaths, swags, and other arrangements from dried materials. Combined in a variety of shades and textures, they bring color and fragrance to the house during the long winter months in New Hampshire. *Photo by Lynn Martin*

Le Patrimoine franco-américain

Franco-American Heritage in New Hampshire

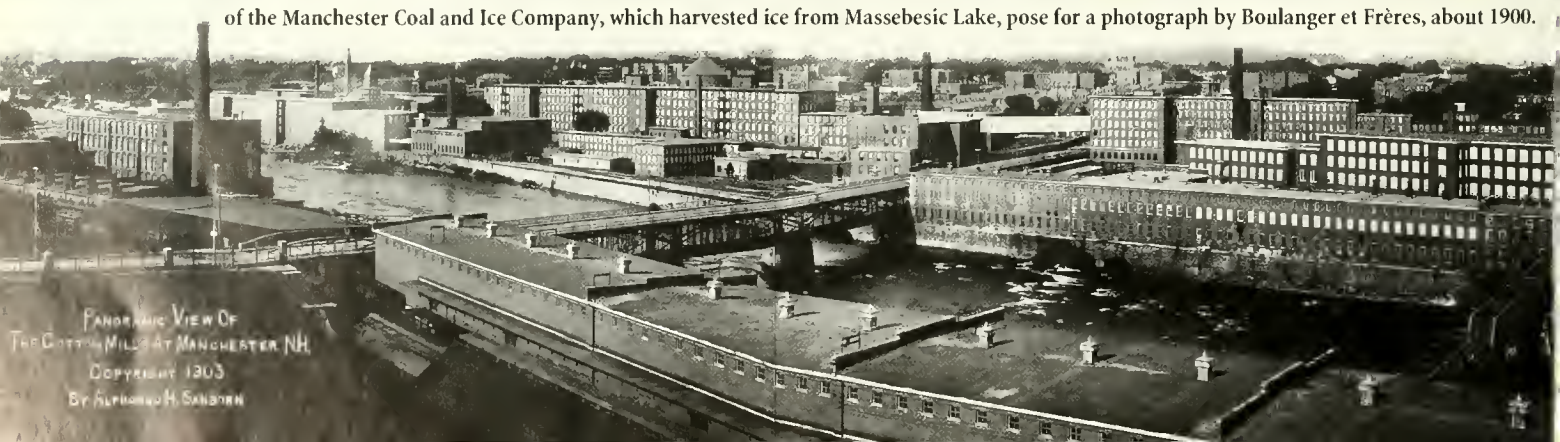
A Photo Essay by Gary Samson



Right: When social documentary photographer Lewis W. Hine made this photograph of Amoskeag employees exiting the mill yard in 1909, 40 percent of the company's work force of approximately 15,000 was Franco-American. Hine had come to Manchester to record child labor practices as part of his work for the National Child Labor Committee.



Besides textile and shoe manufacturing, Franco-Americans found work in other industries or established their own small businesses. Employees of the Manchester Coal and Ice Company, which harvested ice from Massebesic Lake, pose for a photograph by Boulanger et Frères, about 1900.



Between 1850 and 1900, 340,000 French Canadians abandoned the poor economic and political conditions that existed in their native province of Québec for the promise of a better way of life and a chance to more fully realize their ambitions in the industrial centers of New England. As the new century began, Québecois continued to relocate across the southern border, drawn away from small Canadian towns such as Waterloo, Magog, and Fulford by the attractions of prosperous American cities such as Manchester, New Hampshire, home of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, then the world's largest producer of textile products.

The French Canadians came to be known as Franco-Americans. In mill towns, the Franco-American community was often called Le Petit Canada, or Little Canada, and at times entire populations of rural Québec villages were transferred almost completely intact to a particular mill-town neighborhood.

Gary Samson is manager of Photographic Services at the University of New Hampshire. He has produced ten films reflecting the diverse history and culture of the state of New Hampshire and has organized many exhibits on historic aspects of New Hampshire. Gary is one of the state's most respected photographers and teaches photography at the New Hampshire Institute of Art in Manchester.



Left: Manchester photographer Ulric Bourgeois as he ventured forth with camera and tripod for a day of fieldwork, about 1913; photographer unknown. Bourgeois and his wife arrived in the city at the turn of the century after an apprenticeship at Ethier Studios, Waterloo, Québec. His bilingualism coupled with his creative imagination and knowledge of the technical aspects of the medium enabled him to become one of the state's leading photographers. He retired in 1950 after 50 years of photographing Manchester's history and culture.



Below: The first credit union in the United States, La Caisse Populaire Sainte-Marie, was established in Manchester on November 24, 1908, to serve the rapidly growing Franco-American population. The organization, initially operated from a private home, was moved to new headquarters in 1913. *Photo by Laurier Durette, circa 1930*

Below: In Manchester, New Hampshire, the Merrimack River flows through the once great Amoskeag Manufacturing complex, reflecting a part of history, industrial progress, and social change. This 1903 panoramic view of the company captures the dramatic expanse of the largest textile mill yard in the world and the city it built, a unique example of 19th-century community planning. *Photo © Alphonson H. Sanborn*



Le Patrimoine franco-américain

Franco-American Heritage in New Hampshire

A Photo Essay by Gary Samson



Right: When social documentary photographer Lewis W. Hine made this photograph of Amoskeag employees exiting the mill yard in 1909, 40 percent of the company's work force of approximately 15,000 was Franco-American. Hine had come to Manchester to record child labor practices as part of his work for the National Child Labor Committee.



Besides textile and shoe manufacturing, Franco-Americans found work in other industries or established their own small businesses. Employees of the Manchester Coal and Ice Company, which harvested ice from Massebesic Lake, pose for a photograph by Boulanger et Frères, about 1900.

Between 1850 and 1900, 340,000 French Canadians abandoned the poor economic and political conditions that existed in their native province of Québec for the promise of a better way of life and a chance to more fully realize their ambitions in the industrial centers of New England. As the new century began, Québecois continued to relocate across the southern border, drawn away from small Canadian towns such as Waterloo, Magog, and Fulford by the attractions of prosperous American cities such as Manchester, New Hampshire, home of the Amoskeag Manufacturing Company, then the world's largest producer of textile products.

The French Canadians came to be known as Franco-Americans. In mill towns, the Franco-American community was often called Le Petit Canada, or Little Canada, and at times entire populations of rural Québec villages were transferred almost completely intact to a particular mill-town neighborhood.

Gary Samson is manager of Photographic Services at the University of New Hampshire. He has produced ten films reflecting the diverse history and culture of the state of New Hampshire and has organized many exhibits on historic aspects of New Hampshire. Gary is one of the state's most respected photographers and teaches photography at the New Hampshire Institute of Art in Manchester.



Left: Manchester photographer Ulric Bourgeois as he ventured forth with camera and tripod for a day of fieldwork, about 1913; photographer unknown. Bourgeois and his wife arrived in the city at the turn of the century after an apprenticeship at Ethier Studios, Waterloo, Québec. His bilingualism coupled with his creative imagination and knowledge of the technical aspects of the medium enabled him to become one of the state's leading photographers. He retired in 1950 after 50 years of photographing Manchester's history and culture.



Below: The first credit union in the United States, La Caisse Populaire Sainte-Marie, was established in Manchester on November 24, 1908, to serve the rapidly growing Franco-American population. The organization, initially operated from a private home, was moved to new headquarters in 1913. *Photo by Laurier Durette, circa 1930*





Below: In Manchester, New Hampshire, the Merrimack River flows through the once great Amoskeag Manufacturing complex, reflecting a part of history, industrial progress, and social change. This 1903 panoramic view of the company captures the dramatic expanse of the largest textile mill yard in the world and the city it built, a unique example of 19th-century community planning. *Photo © Alphonson H. Sanborn*



Right: Inspired by the earlier documentary work of Lewis W. Hine and Ulric Bourgeois, I began photographing the diverse Franco-American population of Manchester in 1980. Doris Houle Burke, expecting her first child, was photographed in her kitchen in 1982 as part of this extended portrait of the community.

Photo by Gary Samson



Above far right: For three-quarters of a century, the Durette family has been recording the people, customs, and events of Manchester's Franco-American community. Gerald Durette, son of Laurier Durette, is a third-generation photographer carrying on the family tradition established by his grandfather, Francois Xavier Durette.

Photo by Gary Samson, 1999



Above: Parade float, Saint-Jean Baptiste Day, Manchester, 1950. John the Baptist is the patron saint of French-speaking people in North America.

Photo by Laurier Durette



Suggested Reading

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Québecois artist Ozias Leduc was commissioned in 1906 to decorate the interior of the recently completed Sainte-Marie Church, located in the heart of Little Canada, Manchester's French-Canadian neighborhood. The parish was established in 1880 to ease the overcrowding of the city's first French-language Catholic church, Saint Augustine's, founded in 1871. *Photo by Laurier Durette, circa 1930*

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Photo by Laurier Durette, circa 1930

Granite and Grass

Donald Hall



Ragged Mountain Spirits,
by Christopher Hill Morse, 1999.

1

On Ragged Mountain birches twist from rifts in granite.
Great ledges show gray through sugarbush. Brown bears
doze all winter under granite outcroppings or in cellarholes
the first settlers walled with fieldstone.
Granite markers recline in high abandoned graveyards.

Although split by frost or dynamite, granite is unaltered;
earthquakes tumble boulders across meadows; glaciers
carry pebbles with them as they grind south
and melt north, scooping lakes for the Penacook's trout.
Stone bulks, reflects sunlight, bears snow, and persists.

When highway-markers cut through a granite hill, scoring
deep trench-sides with vertical drillings, they leave behind
glittering sculptures, monuments to the granite state
of nature, emblems of permanence
that we worship in daily disease, and discover in stone.

2

But when we climb Ragged Mountain past cordwood stumpage,
over rocks of a dry creekbed, in company of young hemlock,
only granite remains unkind. Uprising in summer, in woods
and high pastures, our sister the fern breathes, trembles,
and alters, delicate fronds outspread and separate.
The fox pausing for scent cuts holes in hoarfrost.
Quail scream in the fisher's jaw; then the fisher dotes.
The coy-dog howls, raising puppies that breed more puppies
to rip the throats of rickety deer in March.
The moose's antlers extend, defending his wife for a season.

Mother-and-father grass lifts in the forsaken meadow,
grows tall under sun and rain, uncut, turns yellow,
sheds seeds, and under assault of snow relents; in May
green generates again. When the bear dies, bees construct
honey from nectar of cinquefoil growing through rib bones.

3

Ragged Mountain was granite before Adam divided.
Grass lives because it dies. If weary of discord
we gaze heavenward through the same eye that looks at us,
vision makes light of contradiction:
Granite is grass in the holy meadow of the soul's repose.

Donald Hall is the poet laureate of New Hampshire. His work reflects the natural and cultural landscape of the state.

From The Happy Man *by Donald Hall. Copyright © 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986 by Donald Hall. Reprinted by permission of Random House, Inc.*

Politics and Community Values

David H. Watters



Town meeting in Chicester, presided over by moderator John E. Sargent (leaning on ballot box).
Photo by Geoff Forrester, courtesy Concord Monitor

New Hampshire fourth graders read Nathaniel Hawthorne's short story, "The Great Stone Face" (1850), in which a young boy, Ernest, grows up in a town in the shadow of the Old Man of the Mountain. There is a prophecy that a child born nearby is "destined to become the greatest and noblest personage of his time, and [his] countenance, in manhood, should bear an exact resemblance to the Great Stone Face." After visits by a wealthy merchant, a general, a silver-tongued politician, and a poet, townspeople recognize that Ernest himself resembles the Great Stone Face. He humbly stays home and serves his neighbors, confirming the Jeffersonian ideal that leadership arises from common folk. Today, local control and a suspicion of distant authority are the granite of New Hampshire political traditions, which have persisted even as the population has absorbed waves of foreigners from other nations and "Taxachusetts." Politics and community values blend in town meeting, protest movements, family service, and the presidential primary.

In New Hampshire, town meeting annually renews democracy. Towns traditionally meet on or about the second Tuesday of March. Roads are still pass-

able before mud season, and maple sugaring is just underway. Ranging in size from 25 to 3,500, meetings begin with the Pledge of Allegiance, and, perhaps, "America, The Beautiful." There are many elected and appointed officials, such as moderator, selectman, road agent, and, in Durham, keeper of the swans. The moderator oversees debate on warrant articles listing each town budget item. In meeting, some women knit, some sit with kids in laps, some chat around the tables selling refreshments to support the volunteer fire department. Some men stand in the back or duck outside for a smoke. All watch each dollar like a hawk. The local property tax supports the town and schools, so citizens can calculate to the penny what their votes will cost. Many towns have a community meal that "helps ease tensions," according to Hilary Cleveland, New London's moderator. A good moderator provides the glue which holds a community together, with simple rules and competent, fair conduct. Anyone who wants to speak may speak, and everyone speaks once before anyone speaks twice. These are the ethical values which nourish democracy.

Legendary repositories of traditional skill and wisdom, town moderators often have an extensive kinship network which blends family and community values. Steve Taylor, Plainfield moderator since 1981, recalls visiting his first town meeting at age nine, when Palmer C. Reed presided: "He stood like a granite pillar on the stage, commanding the attention of all those before him." Everett Begore, who has served Hebron for 31 years, tries to "keep a tight ship, keep attention on the article, and hash it out." Many Hebron residents are retired on fixed incomes, so they know an increase in taxes might mean a neighbor has to sell or subdivide a farm. Funding for a new ambulance lost when one man noted he had just been transported in the old one, and it still looked all right to him.

Some issues become symbolic of a town's struggle to define its rural character. Towns around Mt. Kearsarge passed resolutions against the construction of a communications tower on the peak. In Plainfield, people debated for an hour over whether to turn off the five streetlights in the tiny hamlet of Cornish Flat. (They were left on when one resident lamented that, without the lights, people might drive through at night and never know they'd been in Cornish Flat.) Town meeting oratory has its roots in daily recitations in primary schools, 4-H Clubs and Granges, and family and neighborly discussion. Newcomers learn quickly that persuasion outworks passion.

Town meeting emerged in the 1960s and 1970s as a bulwark of home rule during grassroots protest movements. Durham resisted Aristotle Onassis's plan to build a massive oil refinery on Durham Point. It became a battle over the balance of power between town and state when Governor Meldrim Thompson proposed legislation to overrule town meetings, and he asked all moderators in March 1974 to present a warrant in favor of an oil refinery. Towns across the state voted this down, and on March 6, 1974, Durham defeated the proposed rezoning for the refinery 1,254 to 144. Calling home rule "the very bedrock of democracy in New Hampshire… from Coos to the Sea," Dudley Dudley, a descendant of Daniel Webster, led the successful fight against Thompson's legislation.

New Hampshire's conservative politi-



Barbara Anderson of Epsom poses in front of a wooden "Trojan Horse" and "Captive Nations Graveyard" built by George Ober of Ashland and erected in the 1960s near an inn owned by the Andersons to protest U.S. involvement in the United Nations. *Photo by Ken Williams, courtesy* Concord Monitor

cal culture often stands in protest against liberal ideas. William Loeb is legendary as the conservative editor of the *Manchester Union Leader*. Despite Loeb's national reputation as political king-maker and fierce anti-communist, he always identified with patriotic working people. His front-page editorials forged the state's tough and colorful language of conservatism with a strong libertarian accent. In Robert Frost's words, "Good fences make good neighbors."

New Hampshire politics also is shaped by family culture. The Gregg, Bass, Sununu, and Dondero/Foley families have provided generations of leadership, and many politicians seem like family because the political structure militates against the establishment of a professional political class. There are 400 state representatives paid but $100 per annum, or one for each 2,500 residents, or four cents each per voter per year, which seems a fair bargain. Friends and family members, once elected, are "sent over to Concord" (a phrase which also can refer to sending someone to the state mental hospital there). The flip side of suspicion of distant authority is the placing of trust in generations of a family which embodies community values.

The Gregg family arrived with the wave of Scotch-Irish settlers in 1719. Scotch-Irish independence, versatility, and entrepreneurial skills find political expression in the public service of Governor Hugh Gregg and his son Senator Judd Gregg. Hugh Gregg has been mayor of Nashua, served in Korea, was elected in 1952 the youngest governor in state history at age 34, and chaired presidential campaigns. The chronicler of the Republican Party and the presidential primary, he embodies a New Hampshire tradition whereby a community elder becomes a historian, a living archive of lore and wisdom. Judd Gregg has served as governor's councilor (1979–81), congressman (1981–89), governor (1989–93), and U.S. senator (1993–). Judd Gregg was inspired by the examples of his grandfather, who founded social service agencies, including the Crotched Mountain Rehabilitation Center, and his father. "When I was growing up it was understood that if you expected to take advantage of the wonderful and unique lifestyle that New Hampshire offers, you had an obligation to give back through participation and community service." For the Greggs, as for many families, public service is an "honorable and important undertaking."

The Dondero/Foley family led Portsmouth for decades. Mary Carey Dondero was the first woman to serve as a mayor in the state (1945–47), and her daughter Eileen Foley served many terms (1968–72, 1984–98). Mary Dondero earned the nickname "Sweetheart of the House" for her 11 terms as a state representative in Concord. She lost a race for State Senate by one vote, but Eileen Foley made up for that by winning the seat for seven terms. Eileen Foley describes herself as an "ordinary person" who every day wants to be "somewhere where I can feel I can do something good." Her three children continue the family tradition of public service; in the words of her daughter Mary, "The apple doesn't fall far from the tree."

The first-in-the-nation presidential primary shows the world the community values of New Hampshire politics. Candidates must visit kitchens, truck stops, a "Politics & Eggs" breakfast, and Robie's Country Store. People ask hard questions and expect honest answers as they look for moments which define presidential character. Ronald Reagan paid for a microphone, George Bush climbed into an 18-wheeler, and Bill Clinton promised to remember New Hampshire people "until the last dog dies," to pass the New Hampshire test. Such luminaries are joined by dozens of unknowns, such as Caroline Killeen, "The Hemp Lady," who pay $1,000 to place their names on the ballot. Killeen, age 72, advocates the legalization of marijuana. Traveling everywhere by bicycle, her 1992 slogan was "America needs trees, not Bushes."

On primary day, conversation at the polls turns to the weather and local taxes. Voters mark paper ballots in booths with red, white, and blue curtains. The first results come in right after midnight, from Dixville Notch, where voters gather at the Balsams Hotel to cast a dozen or so votes. Neil Tillotson, the 100-year-old moderator, has been the first person in America to vote in presidential elections since 1964. Twenty-four hours later, the candidates and the press have gone, and the next snowstorm covers up the campaign signs of winners and losers.

Jeremy Belknap concluded his *History of New Hampshire* (1792) with a "vision of a happy society." A good society needs schools, farms, merchants, a clergyman, and a library, but there should be "no intriguing politician, horse jockey, gambler or sot; but all such characters treated with contempt." With such a warning, New Hampshire people for two centuries have judged politics and politicians by the values of their communities.

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David H. Watters holds the James H. Hayes and Claire Short Hayes Chair in the Humanities at the University of New Hampshire.

Use and Reservation: Land Stewardship in New Hampshire

Richard Ober

In October my father and I cut firewood from our ancestral woodlot in southern New Hampshire. We load up chain saws and sandwiches in the morning and return in the evening speckled with sawdust and thinking about our roots. Although our place is mostly forested now, we still call it Jenkins Pasture. It's our half-joking nod to great-great-grandfather Charles Jenkins.

Like Charles himself, the 100 acres he bought in the 1860s was cheap and not terribly productive. This was near the end of New Hampshire's agricultural heyday, and marginal pasture land was plentiful. For most of the previous century, farmers had been cutting and burning the primeval forest to make room for crops. They felled huge pine and oak and chestnut trees with axes, pulled stumps with their oxen, wrestled stones from the ground, furrowed their fields. It was grueling work considering the thin topsoil and short growing season. Mark Twain likely had a 19th-century New Hampshire hill farm in mind when he quipped, "In the south the people shape the land, but in the north the land shapes the people." Parsimony, independence, determination. Most of the famous Yankee traits derive from our relationship with the land.

When the railroad arrived in the



Forest land in Wilmot, New Hampshire.
Photo courtesy Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests

"In the south the people shape the land, but in the north the land shapes the people."

—Mark Twain



1830s, some subsistence farmers made a few dollars shipping produce to market. But commercial agriculture was not to remain a dominant economic force. Victims of rich soil out west and better wages in the textile mills, farms failed by the thousands in the late 19th century. When the plowing stopped, trees sprouted. Wood industries followed. Subsistence was replaced by commerce as industrious entrepreneurs used the regenerating forests to manufacture a bewildering array of products, including crates, clapboards, pulp, buttons, musical instruments, dowels, boats, furniture, wood flour, tanning solution, and, of course, lumber. Some woods were completely cut over, and others were carefully managed. Acre by acre the forest reclaimed its place as the state's most important raw commercial resource. Granite Staters adjusted accordingly.

Then, at the turn of the 19th century, a very different land ethic appeared: preservation for leisure's sake. Vacationers from New York and Boston found in New Hampshire's White Mountains a wilderness getaway where they could shake off urban woes and commune with nature. Problem was, the mountains also held New England's last virgin forests, and out-of-state timber companies were cutting them hard. The inevitable clash between use and preservation is neatly foreshadowed in two quotes about the White Mountains: "The good of going into the mountains," wrote Ralph Waldo Emerson, "is that life is reconsidered." Timber baron John E. Henry had a different view: "I never see the tree yit that didn't mean a damn sight more to me going under the saw than it did standing on a mountain."

These conflicting attitudes were reconciled through the Weeks Act of 1911, which led to the creation of the White Mountain National Forest and, ultimately, 50 other eastern national forests. In addition to conserving 12 percent of New Hampshire's land base, the Weeks Act codified the doctrine of multiple use conservation, which seeks to balance resource use and protection.

Throughout this century, New Hampshire has continued to struggle with this balance. We view real estate as wealth and tax it heavily, which discourages long-term stewardship. Yet we so value rural character that nearly half the land in the state is enrolled in a tax-abatement program that keeps it undeveloped. Weak regulations have encouraged haphazard and inappropriate development in many places. Yet 22 percent of the state is permanently protected by land trusts and public agencies, by far the highest proportion of conservation land in the Northeast. We are one of the most fiscally conservative states in the nation. Yet conservation groups are highly respected, and the legislature has invested $50 million in new parks and forests in the past decade.

Enigmatic? Certainly. But that's New England, and in many ways the Granite State is the region's archetype. We have a rocky seacoast, dramatic mountains, quaint villages, covered bridges, maple sugar shacks, stone walls everywhere. We are also the fastest-growing state in the region. Embracing this prosperity while retaining our distinctive landscapes and culture is not easy. Indeed, it constantly tests our traditionally close relationship with the land and demands a steady dose of Yankee ingenuity. One illuminating fact: forest cover increased steadily from the 1860s through the 1980s, but now it's declining again due to development. How will that affect our

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Forest land in Wilmot, New Hampshire.
Photo courtesy Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests



The Andorra Forest, showing the combination of open land and forests typical to New Hampshire.
Photo courtesy Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests

changing relationship with the land?

Jenkins Pasture is a good place to ponder these things. The stone walls especially get me thinking. Built to enclose fields but now a seamless part of the forest, the stone wall is an icon of both continuity and change. And isn't that the essence of land stewardship? To accommodate growth in such a way that our human artifacts fit the landscape as smoothly as a stone wall, a steeple rising over a green hillside, a covered bridge spanning a swift and ever-changing river.

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Richard Ober has written and lectured widely on land use and forest conservation. He is co-author, with David Dobbs, of the award-winning book The Northern Forest *(Chelsea Green, 1995). He has edited several books and has been published in* Outside, Dartmouth Alumni Magazine, Northern Woodlands, Habitat, *and other journals. Ober is senior director for outreach programs for the Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, the state's oldest and largest conservation organization.*

Gateways to Romania



This program is produced with the Romanian Cultural Foundation and organized with the cooperation of the Office of the President of Romania, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Culture, and the U.S. Embassy in Romania, and with support from the Government of Romania. Major sponsors are Coca-Cola and CONNEX. Contributors include the Romanian Development Bank, Chase Manhattan Bank, and the Timken Foundation. Donors include Nestor Nestor & Kingston Petersen, Cold Chain Impex S.R.L., Zero International Inc., and General Electric. Major in-kind support is provided by Tarom Airlines, Bates Centrade Saatchi & Saatchi Romania, and Romtrans.

Gateways to Romanian Culture and History

Charles King

"We Romanians are the heirs of the eastern reaches of the Roman Empire, whose memory we have preserved in our language and our name."

—Nicolae Iorga
Romanian historian (1871-1940)



Majestic mountains, rolling plains, the Danube, and the Black Sea — all contribute to the geographical diversity of Romania, the gateway between the Balkans and Central Europe. The country is bordered by Hungary, Ukraine, the Republic of Moldova, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and the Black Sea. The central part of the country is dominated by the great arc of the Carpathian Mountains, with their alpine peaks and thick beech, fir, and spruce forests. The Danube forms Romania's southwestern and southern border for much of its course, giving the country the longest Danube frontage in Europe. This great waterway ends its journey across Europe in Romania, emptying into the Black Sea and forming the Danube delta, one of the world's richest treasures of unique fauna and flora. Vast, fertile plains stretch from the Carpathians east toward the Black Sea coast. Fishermen and farmers, highlanders and lowlanders, forest dwellers and settlers of the plains have all contributed to the making of modern Romania.

Romania consists of several distinct geographical regions, all of which have historically been more gateways than barriers to different cultures and peoples. To the west lie the hills and flatlands of Crişana and Banat, regions that open onto the immense Hungarian plain even farther west. To the north are the hills and mountains of Maramureş and Bucovina, regions that have long been considered the cradle of Romanian folklore and traditional art. In the center is Transylvania, with its distinctive multicultural heritage influenced by Romanians, Hungarians, and Germans. Across the Carpathians to the east lies Moldova, where Orthodox monks have long guarded their unique painted monasteries nestled amid lush foothills. To the south of the Carpathians are Oltenia and Muntenia, often grouped together under the name Wallachia, with their vast agricultural zones washed by the Danube. And situated between the Danube and the Black Sea is Dobrogea, where ancient fishing villages have given way to bustling tourist resorts.

Romanians are often perceived as a small nation inhabiting a small and unknown land. But the image could not be farther from the reality. The Romanians are the largest cultural group in Southeast Europe and one of the largest in Europe as a whole. There are some 25 million Romanian speakers living mainly in Romania but also in several neighboring countries. There are thus more Romanians in Europe than Nor-



Right: Icon representing Adam and Eve, from Gherla, Banat. *Photo courtesy Village Museum, Bucharest*

Left: *Sleeping Muse I*, 1909–1911, by Constantin Brancusi. *Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, Smithsonian Institution, Gift of Joseph H. Hirshhorn, 1966. Photography by Ricardo Blanc*

wegians, Swedes, Finns, and Danes combined. The territory of Romania itself is only a little smaller than Italy.

Today, Romania's population is just under 23 million. Major ethnic minorities include Hungarians (7 percent) and Roma or Gypsies (2 percent), as well as Germans, Ukrainians, Jews, Turks, Serbs, and other peoples. While Romanians form the majority populations in both Romania and the Republic of Moldova, there are also significant Romanian minorities in Ukraine, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Yugoslavia. Diaspora communities are scattered throughout the world, especially in the United States, Canada, and Western Europe.

In their name and their language, Romanians preserve the legacy of the Roman Empire. Their language is of Latin origin, and speakers of Spanish or Italian will find something familiar in its sonorous rhythms. Indigenous peoples in the region of modern Romania were strongly influenced by Latin culture after the arrival of the Romans. Indeed, it is the conquest of the lands north of the Danube by the Emperor Trajan in the second century A.D. that is portrayed on the famous Trajan's Column in Rome, the most complete ancient depiction of the clothing, appearance, and weaponry of the inhabitants of the region before the Roman conquest. The Roman legions transformed the region into a distinct province, Dacia, and managed to hold on to the frontier province until the coming of the barbarians in the third century A.D. In the following centuries, the local Latinized culture was influenced by Slavs, Hungarians, Turks, and other peoples, with each leaving a mark on the language, art, and history of modern Romanians.

This ancient culture, however, did not find expression in a modern state until relatively late. Two large principalities — Moldova and Wallachia — emerged out of a congeries of local domains in the 14th century, but these eventually fell under the control of the Ottoman Turks by the early years of the 16th century. However, the Romanian lands were never fully incorporated into the empire, unlike areas south of the Danube, and for much of the Ottoman period the Romanians were ruled by their own princes in exchange for annual tribute paid to the sultan in Constantinople.

The foundations of modern Romania were laid in 1859. In that year, noble assemblies in Wallachia and Moldova elected the same man as leader of the principalities, effectively uniting them under a single head. Within two decades, in 1878, the full independence of the new state — now called Romania — was recognized by the great powers. At the end of World War I, the country doubled its size and population, especially through the addition of Transylvania, Bessarabia, and Bucovina, areas that had previously been part of Russia and Austria-Hungary. The turmoil of World War II reduced Romania's size, with much of the eastern part of the country incorporated into the Soviet Union. The march of the Soviet army to Bucharest in the closing days of the war ushered in the period of communism. Under the tyrannical leadership of Nicolae Ceauşescu, the communist experiment led to the environmental, economic, and cultural degradation of the Romanian land and people. However, an anti-communist revolution in 1989 swept away the Ceauşescu dictatorship and paved the way for the growth of democracy. Since then, Romanians have worked to retake their place in Europe and to introduce their newly free land to investors and visitors from the West.

Although the spiritual homeland of ethnic Romanians, Romania is also a land of great religious, linguistic, and cultural diversity. Orthodox monks, Catholic priests, Jewish rabbis, Protestant ministers, and Muslim imams may all be found there. Romania is the only country with a Latin cultural heritage without a dominant Roman Catholic tradition. Most Romanians, about 87 percent, adhere to the Romanian Orthodox faith. The peoples of the region accepted Christianity gradually in the third and fourth centuries A.D. After the split between the Western and Eastern churches in the 11th century, the territory of

modern Romania remained a part of the Byzantine tradition. The Romanian church received autonomous status in the mid-19th century, and a Romanian Orthodox patriarchate was established in Bucharest. Like his counterparts in the Russian, Greek, and other Orthodox churches, the Romanian patriarch today serves as the spiritual leader of Orthodox Romanians.

A small minority of Romanians, mainly in Transylvania, are members of the Eastern Rite Catholic church. Also known as Greek Catholics, they recognize the authority of the pope but follow the liturgy of the Orthodox church. In 1948, the communists forced the Greek Catholics to unite with the Orthodox, but after 1989 they were restored to their former independent status.

Many of Romania's Hungarians and Germans are either Roman Catholics or members of Lutheran and Calvinist (Reformed) churches. Adventists, Baptists, and other Protestant traditions are also represented. Romania was historically an important center of Jewish culture, but the tragedy of the Holocaust and decades of emigration have reduced the Jewish population to a tiny minority. Other small religious groups, including Russian Orthodox sects and Muslim communities, practice their faith in the cultural patchwork of the Dobrogea region along the Black Sea.

Modern Romanian culture is the product of centuries of interaction between local populations and successive waves of immigration to the region. Until the mid-19th century, Romanian was written in versions of the Cyrillic alphabet also used by Serbs, Bulgarians, and Russians. The vocabulary contains words of Turkic and Slavic origin. Music, dance, folk art, and religious traditions also share many commonalities with those of Hungarians, Slavs, Turks, and other Balkan peoples. Pre-Christian festivals associated with the changing of the seasons were combined with saints' days and other religious feasts after the coming of Christianity. Many of these traditions are preserved among the country's large rural population.

Persons linked to Romania have made a major impact in many cultural spheres. Artists such as sculptor Constantin Brâncuşi reinterpreted traditional Romanian folk themes through the lens of modernism. Composers and writers such as George Enescu and Eugène Ionesco likewise explored the boundaries between custom and innovation. The philosopher of religions Mircea Eliade, the poet Paul Célan, the novelist Panait Istrati — as well as sports legends such as Johnny Weismuller and Nadia Comăneci — have also hailed from Romania. Just as the country has been a gateway between East and West, so it has been a portal through which unique contributions to culture have reached the world.

A people with a rich Latin heritage influenced by myriad other cultural traditions, the Romanians inhabit a land of diverse landscapes, where local customs, rituals, and ways of life have adapted to distinct physical environments: the woodlands of Transylvania and Maramureş, the plains of the west, the lowlands along the Danube river, and the urban cityscapes of Bucharest, Iaşi, and Cluj, ancient settlements that are today becoming nodal points in Romania's expanding array of private businesses, tourist outlets, and expatriate communities. The folk culture of the peasant has long been seen as the embodiment of Romanian identity, but at the close of the millennium, Romanian culture is more than ever a dynamic combination of both tradition and modernity.



Plowing in Maramureş.
Photo courtesy Dan Dinescu

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Suggested Readings and Films on Romanian and Moldovan Themes

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Traditional Music and Dance in Romania Today

Colin Quigley, Zamfir Dejeu, and Constantin Costea

Many musical traditions are practiced with great vitality in Romania today, ranging from song and dance types that are rooted in a conservative peasant world of experience and that may carry ritual meanings, to manifestations of the most contemporary trends in commercialized "world music." Traditional music continues to be an important part of the musical soundscape, from remote rural villages to sophisticated urban centers. Traditions may be localized within a particular region, or they may be of wide circulation found in similar form throughout the country. When traveling through Romania today, a visitor is most likely to encounter traditional music and dance at organized cultural events celebrating the Romanian folk heritage. Between 1975 and the revolution of 1989, folk festivals were often part of a nationwide, organized program, the Song of Romania, used to select the best representatives of this heritage for a massive final performance every two years before the dictator Ceauşescu. This form of organization produced a stylized presentational manner of folklore performance as "spectacle" that was far removed from vernacular aesthetics in music and dance. Many of those who participated within this framework strove nevertheless to valorize authentic traditions, and they continue their efforts to promote these traditions today, sometimes experimenting with new models for staging traditional performance. At the same time there has always been a layer of traditional practice that continued without much overt institutional interference and that is not hard to find if one knows whom to ask. While quite resilient, these traditions have not been insulated from larger processes of social change affecting the lives of tradition bearers. Many communities today have a disco in which young people gather to socialize and dance to the latest recorded hits, usually from the United States and Western Europe. The increased mobility of people within Romania and between Romania and the rest of Europe, the Balkans, and Asia Minor is having a profound effect on musical tastes. I have seen young people in Maramureş, for example, choose to dance to music from Banat at their engagement party, and *lăutari* (professional musicians) such as the ensemble Taraf de Haidouks add musical compositions in the style of Indian film music to their repertoire.

"Arieş ce treci prin Turda"

A lyric *doina* sung by Vasile Soporan

Arieş ce treci prin Turda	Arieş [a river] that runs through Turda,
Să-mi aduci în vale mândra	Bring my love to me in the valley.
Arieş să-mi aduci mândra	Arieş, bring my love
Sâmbătă la Târg la Turda	Saturday to the market fair in Turda.
D'Arieş de n-o aduci-măi	Arieş, if you don't bring her,
Prin Turda să nu mai ur'i, măi	No longer flow through Turda.
Să te scurgi tăt prin pământ	Trickle deep into the earth,
Să te usci când bate vânt mă	Dry up when the wind blows
Hai, să-ţi rămâie matca goală	So your bed remains empty
Hai, să să facă drum de ţară	And makes a path through the country.
Lăstarul să-mi ţină umbra	Woods, cast your shade upon me
Când vine mândra la Turda.	When my love comes to Turda.
[Repeat last two lines]	[Repeat last two lines]

Traditional Music and Its Customary Occasions

Traditional artistic creation takes place as a part of everyday life, reflecting its circumstances and conditions. Alongside the forms of oral literature (prose and verse, either sung or recited) stand musical, choreographic, and dramatic works. Some are performed only by women, others by men, children, or the elderly. The mode of performance might be vocal, instrumental, or a combination. Some traditions are integrated with calendar customs marking cycles of rural life in which the basic preoccupations are agriculture and animal husbandry. There are also rituals for fertility and the reinvigoration of nature.

The customs of mid-winter, from December 24 to January 7 — including the birth of the "invincible sun" at the winter solstice followed by the birth of Jesus — are major occasions for celebration. *Colinde*, traditional Christmas songs, are sung all over Romania by groups of carolers visiting homes throughout their communities. These songs are striking for their archaism and the richness of rhythms found in the simple melodies — all the more impressive when performed by groups without any special training, such as the *călușeri* from Orăștioara de Jos in the Hunedoara region. Various traditions are intended to bring plenty and happiness during the coming year. The oldest form of good-luck visit, going from house to house wearing animal masks (goat, deer, and bear), is practiced at New Year's, especially in Moldova. The *vălăretul* group from the village of Voinesti in Moldova, who are at this year's Festival, provide a good example. Its members include a *fanfară*, or band using modern brass and woodwind instruments; they play specific traditional melodies for each of the masked characters they accompany, as well as a repertoire of regional dance tunes and even modern music such as the theme from *Dallas*, the American television series that once enjoyed great popularity in Romania.

Music was always indispensable to shepherds, and this ancient pastoral occupation generated a musical repertoire with particular characteristics. The power of sound served to control the animals or to placate maleficent powers that might threaten the animals' health. The largest part of this pastoral repertoire is instrumental: played on *bucium* (a long wooden trumpet), *corn* (horn), *tilinca* (a flute without finger holes), *fluier* (fipple flute), and *cimpoi* (bagpipe). Among the folkloric genres tied to this pastoral life are signals; lyrical instrumental melodies; magical melodies; sound "poems" with a moral sense such as the widely known "When the shepherd lost his sheep"; the epic oral poem *Miorița*, recognized as a high point of Romanian oral literature; and finally dances.

Weddings and funerals play a central role in Romanian folklore tied to family life. Weddings include a series of moments with special significance intended to assure the passage of the young couple from one social state to another. These moments are strictly observed and associated with a musical repertoire as well as orated texts and specific dances.

Other musical traditions are not linked to particular occasions. These genres include the *doina* (lyric love song or so-called table song, for listening to while sitting around a table), *cântec bătrânesc* (ballad or old song), and epic song. The *doina* is a melody of open form with lyric

Folklore Today

Mihai Pop

If we regard folklore as a phenomenon both of ongoing human communication and of developing social exchange, we can comprehend its current twofold existence. On one side is the traditional folklore of an independent rural society. On the other is the folklore that has become a consumer good in contemporary industrial society.

What is the latter "consumer-goods folklore"? What is its relation with the traditional folklore? Who produces it? And in what shape is it consumed?

The process by which traditional folklore has been created, preserved, and transmitted follows strictly established patterns and has been doing so for ages. Traditional folklore has particular languages* and codes for their use, through which sacred, ceremonial, and artistic messages can be conveyed. These messages have meaning within a complex semiotic system. Such elaborate ancient codes cannot be taught, but are handed down from generation to generation like mother tongues.

The consumer-goods folklore is above all a reproduction of the traditional one. It is a reproduction that is more or less faithful, depending on how it is actually consumed: the kinds of occasions, the audiences, and the producers themselves. Consumer-goods folklore follows fashion, as other consumer goods do. Today, the songs with rhythmical melodies, extracted from the repertory of dance music, are preferred to traditional lyric song, with its slow, sluggish melodics. For the same reason, very few epic songs are offered on the song market.

Consumer goods also become standardized. The freedom to make the individual variations characteristic of traditional songs is being lost. Uniformity also results because those whose songs are for consumption at concerts and shows, on radio and TV, prefer the accompaniment of a folk music band or orchestra that has established stereotypes for accompaniment, unlike traditional singers, who sing unaccompanied.

The performers who make folklore reproductions are mostly outsiders. Good reproduction requires scientific knowledge of the reproduced songs, that is, of the language in which they were created and transmitted, of the significance of the signs, and of the way they are articulated in creation and performance. This knowledge is insufficient in the case of the outsiders, whose performance has become mostly mimicry. There are exceptions among extremely gifted interpreters as, for instance, the famous singer Maria Tănase, the musi-

Continued on page 45

*Editor's note: Professor Pop uses the word *language* generically to refer not only to speech itself but to the systematically structured, meaningful, and self-reflexive dimensions of traditional performance — such as music, graphic art, dance, and various forms of narrative.

"Flori-s dalbile di măru"

Dinăintea ce doi curţu
Sun'doi meri alăturaţu
Din vîrvuţu merilor
Suntu două turturele
Tînîn' două luminele
Dintr-un picur ce s-a face
De s-ar face-on feredeu
Să să scalde taica meu
To' să scaldă şi să-ntreabă
Ce-i mai bun p-aist pămîntu
Nu-i mai bun ce bou-al bunu
Că răvarsă brazdă neagră
Şi samînă grîu roşcioru.
Tot să scaldă şi să-ntreabă
Ce-i mai bun p-aist pămîntu
Nu-i mai bun ca vaca-i bună
Tot să duce şi ne-aduce
Şi sara şi dimineaţa
Tot să scaldă şi să-ntreabă
Ce-i mai buna p-aist pămîntu
Nu-i mai bun ca calul bunu
Că-n calica voinicu ma
Şi ne scote di la rele
De la grele războiele
Tot să scaldă si să-ntreabă
Ce-i mai bun p-aist pămîntu
Nu-i mai bun ca oaia-i bună
Căci cu lîna te-ncălzeşte
Cu laptele te-ndulceşte
Tot să scaldă şi să-ntreabă
Ce-i mai bun p-aist pămîntu
Nu-i mai bun ca porcu-ăl bunu
Că-i mînci carne la Crăciunu
C-o-nkinăm cu sănătate
Pe la gazde, pe la tote.

White flowers, white apple flowers
In front of the two courtyards.
There are two apple trees
Next to one another.
On top of the apple trees
There are two turtle doves
Keeping two little candles.
What will become of one candlewax drop?
It will make a tub
To bathe my father in it.
He keeps bathing and wondering:
What is the best thing on this earth?
Nothing is better than a good ox
Because he pours out a black furrow
And plants red corn.
He keeps bathing and wondering:
What is the best thing on this earth?
Nothing is better than a good cow
Always bringing milk to us
In the evening and in the morning.
He keeps bathing and wondering:
What is the best thing on this earth?
Nothing is better than a good horse
Because a brave young man mounts it
And saves us from danger
And from difficult wars.
He keeps bathing and wondering:
What is the best thing on this earth?
Nothing is better than a good sheep
Because it keeps you warm with its wool
And makes you sweet with its milk.
He keeps bathing and wondering:
What is the best thing on this earth?
Nothing is better than a good pig
Because you eat its meat on Christmas.
We toast to your health
To the hosts, to all of them.

A *colindă* text from Ann Schuursma, "*Colinde cu Dubă* in Valea Mureşului, Southwestern Transylvania [Hunedoara Province, Romania]." Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1987. Copyright © Ann Schuursma. The symbol of the apple tree is found frequently in *colindă* texts.

text that may be called by a variety of regionally specific terms, such as the "long song" in Oltenia or *de jale* (of sadness) in Moldova. In Maramureş, Lăpuş, and Năsăud the *doina* may be sung with *noduri*, that is, punctuated by distinctive glottal interjections on certain vowel sounds, a technique that requires true virtuosity to master. A separate genre without ritual function is the ballad. This oral epic form, which employs more recital than the *doina*, is performed in general by *lăutari*, typically Roma (Gypsy) professional musicians, accompanied by violin, *cobza* (lute), or *ţambal* (hammered dulcimer). The subjects of ballads are diverse and include the exploits of bandits, shepherds, brave heroes, and lovers. The richest genre, the most varied and at the same time the most widely distributed, is the song proper. It has a strophic form and is performed individually, sung in response to both hard times and happiness. Through song one confesses, cultivates a profound state of reflection, or expresses love, longing, sadness, or alienation.

The Romanian people use a variety of musical instruments today, some very old in form, others newer and factory-made: simple leaves and fish scales (placed between the upper gum and tongue or the lower teeth and lip, to produce a clear and penetrating tone); many types of flutes; the *nai* (panpipe); relatives of the guitar; instruments of the violin family, often modified from their standard construction; and modern instruments such as the accordion, clarinet, and saxophone. Some instruments are identified with particular regions and repertoires: the violin with horn (a Stroh violin) in Bihor, the *taragot* (like a large clarinet but with conical bore) in Banat, the trumpet in Moldova. The trio formation is found throughout the country, as it allows for melody, harmony, and rhythmic-harmonic accompaniment. The Transylvanian trio of violin, *contra* (viola), and contrabass is particularly well known. Instrumental music reaches its peak artistic value when it is joined with

Traditional Music and Dance in Romania Today

dance. Dance music takes hold to provoke a veritable euphoria; in fact, dance melodies are constructed to incite joy, to rouse the elemental energy of the body, focused in rhythmic movement, with a powerful role in physiological and implicitly psychic release.

Traditional Dance

If song and story are, in general, the specialty of gifted and talented individuals, popular dance is essentially a collective art — one that has great vitality in Romania and an important social role, even if sometimes it has been attenuated by modern developments and urbanizing tendencies. In traditional village social life, dance was long the primary entertainment of Romanian peasants. In time it established particular rules for the observance of different festive occasions in which the community came together to celebrate important events in the life of individuals or of the village, such as baptisms, weddings, Sunday celebrations (village dances), patron saints' days, or fairs in mountainous regions on holidays connected with pastoral life.

Romanian folk dance is a singular phenomenon with an undeniable continuity, while at the same time revealing a great diversity in structure and style. The explanation of this remarkable diversity of choreographic forms must be sought first of all in the historical circumstances of the Romanian people, whose origins account for the presence of ancient Mediterranean influences in dance, and second in the central position of Romania vis-à-vis the cultural currents of West and Southeast Europe, where both group dances and couple dances are characteristic. The Romanian repertoire includes dances of archaic style and simple structure (some of them maintaining a ritual function), alongside men's dances with a complex harmonic structure and acrobatic elements — *căluşer** (men's ritual team dance) and *feciorești* (men's display dance) — sometimes performed along with the more numerous Transylvanian couple dances.

There are four main choreographic structures found in Romanian traditional dance.

- Group dances, in which dancers are joined by holding hands, shoulders, or belts. The dance develops in a circle, semi-circle, or a line.
- Couple dances, in which the couples may be arranged in columns, a circle, line, or freely in the dance space. Partners are positioned either side by side or face to face, holding hands, shoulders, or in a ballroom social dance position.
- Team dances, which in the majority of cases are men's dances of great virtuosity, and may be grouped as the dances of *căluşeri*, *feciorești*, or shepherds. In these dances the participants are not holding one another, and in some cases they carry a stick.
- Solo dances, which often have a ritual character, being dance expressions of masked characters among processing celebrants at winter holidays, such as *capra* (goat), deer, bear, bear keeper, etc.

Three principal styles, and two substyles, may be indentified with various folkloric regions.

- The Dunărean dance style, which extends throughout the Romanian plain, comprising Oltenia and Muntenia up to approximately the sub-

*The *căluşerul* of Transylvania and *căluşul* of the Danube plain share similar names and were once closely related healing and fertility rituals performed by men. However, in Transylvania the dance is performed as part of winter customs, and its most widespread form stems from a cultivated revival as a national dance that dates to the mid-19th century. Widespread throughout Romania in the 18th century as a healing ritual, *căluşul* is performed today as a summer custom and only in the south of Romania, where it can be found as a village ritual, town entertainment, in organized competitions, and in theatrical performance.

Folklore Today *continued from page 43*

cian Gheorghe Zamfir (panpipe), the *taragot* interpreter Dumitru Fărcaş, the young singer Tiţiana Mihali, and others. Creative usage and knowledge of traditional language can sometimes be observed at the level of consumer-goods folklore, too.

When traditional folklore meets consumer-goods folklore that uses genuine expression, they can influence each other on the cultural stage. Local folkloric events can contribute to the preservation of tradition or create new forms of it.

Folklore nowadays is definitely bifurcated, and its two components are bound to live together, at least for a while. The difference between them remains their function. Traditional folklore acts are messages of creative performers presented for their own sake or purposely addressed to equals in the community, serving a range of particular purposes within their traditional context. The consumer goods have, for the time being, the status of mere replicas, like reproductions in the fine arts. They address the national community as a whole, effacing regional differences. The complex structure of industrial society creates different levels of acceptance and functional diversity in folklore consumption. For their part, the professionals do not intend to communicate traditional folkloric messages but rather artistic messages that can be perceived as pleasant entertainment or a great, essentialized artistic experience....

Adapted from an article in Mihai Pop, *Folclor românesc* 1: 237–47.

Mihai Pop is professor emeritus and former head of folklore at the University of Bucharest, and former director of the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "C. Brăiloiu."

Carpatic hills, as well as Dobrogea. The principal characteristic of this style is the preponderance of group circle and line dances. Towards the Carpathian foothills, one may also find the men's ritual *căluş* dances of summer.

- The Transilvanian dance style found in an area comprising the upper basin and middle of the Mureş River, the Transylvanian plateau, and the Someş basin. In this stylistic region couple dances predominate along with men's dances. Integrated here are also the *căluşer* dances of winter. The folkloric regions Oaş, Crişurilor, Câmpia Mureşului, and a large part of the Apuseni mountain region represent a distinct "western" substyle characterized by a preponderance of couple dances in lines, as well as particular men's dances.
- The Carpatic dance style, which extends over both slopes of the Carpathian Mountains (southern and eastern), southern Banat, the sub-Carpatic regions of Oltenia, Muntenia, and Moldova, as well as the south and a strip of eastern Transylvania. In this stylistic zone group dances are found in an equal balance with numerous couple dances, and the two are often seamlessly integrated in performance. In a distinct substyle, the folk dances of Podişul and Câmpia Moldovei feature couple dances (*polcuţe*, *învârtite simple*) specific to this area.

Of course the delimitation of style areas can only be approximate, and there are many zones of interpenetration. But it is possible to assert that the Carpatic dance style region, because of its geographic position as a gateway that facilitated an intense cultural and economic exchange among the historic provinces of Romania, constitutes the principal link in the unity of Romanian folk dance — a unity evident in the particular patterns of syncopated rhythm found in almost all dance types and styles.

Traditional dance in Romania has been subject to stylization when represented on stage over the last 50 years. Young Romanians watch Western music videos and learn hip-hop moves along with youths around the world. Yet strong local traditions persist that are resistant to these influences. *Căluşari* like those from Optaşi in Oltenia dance on the ritual occasion of Rusalii, visiting homes throughout their village to bring the community health and fertility. On Christmas Day in 1998, 15 young *căluşeri* sang *colinde* and danced throughout Orăştioara de Jos, in Hunedoara. After services on Sundays throughout the year the young men of Oaş organize village dances with traditional fiddlers playing their reconstructed violins called *cetere*, while dancers wearing a mixture of traditional and modern dress fill the *ciuperca* (mushroom), as the community dance pavilion is called. In these communities and others throughout Romania, traditional music and dance retain their power to enact participants' social relations and express their energy for life.

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Colin Quigley is associate professor in the Department of World Arts and Cultures, University of California, Los Angeles. Curator of the Gateways to Romania *program, he was a Fulbright senior research fellow at the Institute for Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of European Studies, Babeş-Bolyai University, in Cluj-Napoca, 1997–99.*

Zamfir Dejeu is senior researcher at the Arhiva de Folclor, Academia Romaniei, in Cluj-Napoca. He is the author of several collections of music and dance from Transylvania. He has also directed the widely traveled ensemble Somesul Napoca for the last 25 years.

Constantin Costea is a senior researcher in dance at the Institute of Ethnography and Folklore "C. Brăiloiu" in Bucharest. He is the author of numerous articles and several books on Romanian traditional dance, in particular the men's dances of Transylvania.

Traditional Architecture

Iuliana Ciotoiu and Mihai Dăncuş

Romanian Village Architecture

"What makes a Romanian village special? It reveals an eternal youth...and a perpetual rejuvenation.... Its deep poetry comes from its spiritual treasures. Tradition here is a continuous renewal and victory...just like nature."

—George Matei Cantacuzino, architect



A wooden house from Gorj (18th century). *Photo courtesy Village Museum, Bucharest*

Romanian village architecture is characterized first and foremost by its rich understanding of nature. Houses are generally located away from the main street and are subtly inserted in the landscape. When built along the valleys, the angle of the roof follows the slope of the mountains; when built on the plains, the roof line is horizontal. The stone, wood, thatch, and clay used as construction materials come from the land nearby. Orientation is determined by the sun, with windows mostly facing east, south, or southeast.

The plan of the traditional house runs longitudinally from front to back, with the heating system as the focal point. Heat is essential to all major household activities: cooking, baking bread, sleeping, smoking food in the attic, and warming the adjacent rooms. To maximize the distribution of heat throughout the house, the stove is placed in the central space. Then furniture such as a bed or table is arranged in the corners of the room. Tapestries, pottery, stained glass, painted wood, costumes, kitchenware, as well as the low ceiling and the use of beams give the traditional house a warm and intimate ambience.

Rooms communicate directly with the porch. Lower or higher, situated on one or more sides, the porch dominates the façade of traditional houses and assures a fluid connection between the interior and exterior space. The handrail of the porch is the equilibrium line or horizon, balancing the fields of shadow and light falling on the façade. The porch also helps give the traditional house a horizontal rather than vertical aspect.

G.M. Cantacuzino, professor at the Institute of Architecture in Bucharest and a great scholar of traditional Romanian architecture, remarked:

> I said once that the Romanian peasant is our best architect. He thoroughly described how to harmonize a manmade construction with the climate, geography, and social environment. His sensibility inspired the forms. Traditional peasant architecture is a great lesson: [it] created the background for Romanian decorative art and was a unifying characteristic for this people very much like [their] language.

Indeed, the basic elements in traditional Romanian architecture — its functionality, adaptation of purpose and means, balance in proportions and decoration, artistic value, and fit with the landscape — confer on it a sense of unity and a unique personality.

—Iuliana Ciotoiu

Iuliana Ciotoiu is senior architect at the Village Museum, Bucharest, specializing in traditional Romanian architecture.

Architecture in Maramureş

Maramureş is distinguished by its wooden buildings: houses, mills, churches, and gates.

Churches have played an important role in Romanian history. They are the places where ancient documents were preserved; where decisions were taken by the wise men of the village in difficult times; where the national consciousness was kept alive in periods of upheaval; where people were christened, married, and buried. The steeple allowed people to survey the entire area of their village, and it was a special tolling of the bells that announced not only invasions but also devastating fires or raging floods. In short, the church provided warning and protection for the village. Obviously, therefore, the villagers would be concerned with the appearance and location of the structure.

Almost all the churches which date from the 18th century were built in the place of older ones which had been burnt by the Tartars during their last European invasion (1717) and were identical to the originals. The plan generally consisted of three rooms — the altar, the nave, and the narthex on an east-west axis — and sometimes had an open, west-oriented porch. The main features are the very high, sloping, two-level roof and the arrow-shaped steeple. Because of their general architectural profile, many researchers consider them to be in the Gothic style: "Maramureş Gothic." Such important architectural examples exist in all the villages of Maramureş; religious ceremonies are still held in some of them, while others are protected by national heritage preservation laws.

The famous "Maramureş gates" can be found in every village. They continue to be built and are the pride of Maramureş villagers.

—Mihai Dăncuş



A Maramureş gate and church. *Photo courtesy Village Museum, Bucharest*

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Mihai Dăncuş has been director of the Ethnographic Museum of Maramureş since 1976 and is president of the Open-Air Museums of Romania. He holds a doctorate in ethnology and is the author of a number of important studies on Romanian popular culture and traditions.

Romanian Foodways: A Crossroads of Tastes

Nicolae Constantinescu

"*Poftă bună!*" and "*Noroc!*" — "*Bon appétit!*" and "Cheers!" — are often the first words that many visitors to Romania learn. And with good reason, for the rich and diverse cuisine of Romania is one of the country's treasures. In Romanian cooking the hearty meats and vegetables of Central Europe meet the aromatic herbs and spices of the Mediterranean and lands farther east. The sharp smells of cheese with onion or of garlic sauce mingle with the delicate scents of vanilla and cinnamon. The plainest meals of grilled meats or " Romanian eggs" (poached eggs) can be accompanied by more elaborate dishes such as stuffed grape leaves served with yogurt or sour cream. At Easter and other holidays, tables groan beneath the weight of cold cuts and sausages, white cheeses made from the milk of sheep and cows, fresh and pickled vegetables, tomato and vegetable stews, and sugary cakes and sweet breads.

But above all these smells and tastes one food reigns supreme: bread (*pâine*, from the Latin *panem*). At private homes and in restaurants, meals are always served with a full basket of freshly cut bread. Made of wheat flour, water, and yeast, the bread in older times was baked under a simple clay dome. Besides daily bread, there is ritual bread, compulsory at holidays, celebrations, and feasts. Ritual bread may take the shape of a knot or braid (*colac*), a pretzel (*covrig*), a flat cake (*turtă*), or a sweet-cream cheese cake (*pască*); the shape and decorations vary according to the ritual function. The

Sweet Cheese-filled *Plăcintă*
(pronounced pla-CHEEN-ta)

THE DOUGH: 500 grams/17 ½ ounces flour (about 2 ¼ cups)
3 tablespoons oil
1 teaspoon salt
1 cup warm water

Place the flour in the middle of a *very large* sheet of waxed paper or other preparation board (72" x 96"). In the middle of it add the oil, the salt, and the cup of warm water. Mix the ingredients with a tablespoon and then use two hands. The dough should be soft. If necessary add more water. Leave the dough in a warm, dry place, covered with a warm cloth, for 10 minutes. Make a one-inch-thick layer of dough and leave it covered with a cloth for an additional 15 minutes. Sprinkle more flour on the preparation board and then make a *very thin* layer of dough (like a sheet of paper) the size of the whole preparation board. Trim the edges to fit the preparation board, and leave the dough to dry for a few minutes before use.

THE FILLING: 300 grams/10 ½ ounces ricotta cheese
30 grams/10 ounces fresh butter
½ tablespoon flour
2 eggs
½ cup milk
salt
2 tablespoons melted butter

The *very thin* layer of dough needs to be cut in pieces that match a 9" x 12" rectangular baking pan. Mix the cheese, butter, milk, flour, eggs, and salt together. Coat the baking pan with melted butter, add one layer of the thin dough; coat with melted butter; repeat this action layering dough and coating with butter four more times. Add the cheese mixture and level it. Then add three more dough layers as explained previously. Sprinkle butter on the *plăcinta* and put it in the oven at 350° F for 30–45 minutes or until the top layer is golden brown. When done, cut the *plăcinta* into squares and serve warm with powdered sugar on top or with sweet or sour cream.

most common symbols pressed into the dough just before baking are the cross, the circle (representing the sun), the bird, and human figures. Another, newer kind of ritual sweet bread is the *cozonac*, made from wheat flour, yeast, milk, eggs, and butter. Crushed nuts, raisins, poppy seeds, and sometimes cocoa and Turkish delight are also added. *Colivă*, boiled wheat grains sweetened with sugar and honey and mixed with nuts, is served at funerals.

In Romanian cooking the hearty meats and vegetables of Central Europe meet the aromatic herbs and spices of the Mediterranean and lands farther east.

As befits a population known for the cultivation of grains, another grain dish is the most beloved of Romanian traditional foods. *Mămăliga*, a kind of porridge or polenta, is prepared by boiling corn meal (formerly millet flour) with salt in a special cast iron pot. When the water is reduced and the porridge has become thick, the *mămăliga* is turned out of the pot onto a wooden board, allowed to cool slightly, then cut into slices and served. Eating *mămăliga* by itself is a sign of poverty. Traditionally, it is eaten with milk, sour cream, and cheese (*mămăligă cu brânză şi smântână*) — products of the oldest activities of Romanian peasants, breeding cattle and raising sheep. The milk, boiled in the pot the porridge has been cooked in, has an excellent and unique taste. Shepherds at the sheepfold boil the porridge for an hour or more, then cut it, using a string, into large pieces. These are mixed with special sheep cheeses (*burduf* or *caş*), rolled into balls, and broiled on coals until the cheese melts. *Mămăliga* also may be combined with any vegetable or meat dish, especially stuffed cabbage.

Although the name for these stuffed cabbage rolls (*sarma*) comes from the Turkish (also *sarma*), and the dish is similar to that found throughout southeastern Europe, in Romania they are called endearingly "little *sarmale*" (*sărmăluţe*) and are thought of as being part of the national cuisine. A mixture of ground pork and/or beef, onions, rice, and spices is wrapped in pickled cabbage leaves; these are slowly boiled in special pans (earthenware in some regions), then baked in the oven until they are golden brown, and finally served with "little *mămăligă*" (*mămăliguţă*) and a rich paprika sauce. In summer the cabbage leaves are replaced with grape, garden sorrel, or even linden tree leaves.

Another mincemeat dish, also of Oriental origin but fully assimilated into Romanian cuisine, is *mititei*. It is made of beef and lamb minced twice, mixed with spices, formed by hand into finger-shaped pieces, then grilled over charcoal.

Romania's rich agricultural land and long growing season provide a wealth of fruits and vegetables, which are central to traditional Romanian cooking. Vegetables can be eaten fresh (i.e., onions, tomatoes, cucumbers, peppers, radishes with cheese, garlic with bacon, lettuce with oil and vinegar), cooked (green peppers roasted on the kitchen range, eggplant salad, or *salată de vinete*), or pickled (sauerkraut from white or red cabbage, cucumbers, autumn tomatoes, peppers, cauliflower, celery). Romanian housewives are famous for the various and ingenious ways in which they prepare pickles each autumn.

Fish from the Danube and the Black Sea, combined with a garlic sauce, are also an important part of seasonal and regional cuisines.

While Americans have general labels for foods such as "cheese" and "soup," Romanians make distinctions between different types of these foods. *Brânză* is a pungent white cheese made from sheep or cow's milk, while *caşcaval* is a yellow cheese similar to Swiss. Likewise, *supă* is a thin meat or vegetable broth, while *ciorbă* is a thick, slightly sour stew best eaten with both a spoon and a fork.

With respect to drinks, the pride of place is accorded to wine, each region of Romania having its famous vineyards. Varieties from Murfatlar and Târnave, for example, have found their way to Western markets. But a Romanian meal always starts with a little glass of *ţuică*, a natural alcohol made from fruit (generally plums but also pears, apples, apricots, sweet cherries), distilled once in Muntenia and Moldova and twice in Transylvania. It has miraculous therapeutic value when drunk moderately, in addition to whetting the appetite and starting the conversation flowing.

Nicolae Constantinescu was educated at the University of Bucharest (Ph.D., 1971) and is professor of folklore and head of ethnology and folklore at the university. He is the author of several books on folklore and ethnology.

Romanian Pottery and Ceramics

Georgeta Roşu

The creation of objects in clay is one of the oldest traditional crafts in Romania, developed among people who held in high esteem those who worked with fire. Along with metalworkers, potters were considered sacred keepers of the forces of nature, since earth and fire were believed to have magical properties.

To make the pottery, clay was taken from the hills around villages. The manner of preparing the clay was similar from one region to another, and became one of the unifying elements in Romanian culture.

In addition to many objects made of wood, textiles, metal, and other materials, traditional Romanian households have a great variety of ceramic objects. These include the *ulcior*, a slender-necked vessel for liquids; the *strachina*, a shallow serving dish; and mugs (*căni*). Such objects are normally decorated with a variety of suggestive motifs: snakes and birds, horses, and anthropomorphic representations that evoke fertility and divine protection for the household. Clay miniatures are also used as children's toys and are decorated with birds, dogs, bells, women in dresses, horses, and other motifs. In the daily activities of the household, pottery serves both practical and decorative functions.

Today in Romania there are three general types of ceramics:

- Black ceramics: The distinctive dark color is produced by firing the ceramics with a reduced amount of



Wedding *ulcior*, Oltenia.
Photo courtesy Romanian Peasant Museum

Along with metalworkers, potters were considered sacred keepers of the forces of nature, since earth and fire were believed to have magical properties.



Plate from Horezu, Oltenia. Horezu is an important ceramics center. *Photo courtesy Romanian Peasant Museum*

oxygen. The decoration is simple and geometric (straight lines, zigzags, or spirals). Black ceramics are produced in several centers in Moldova and Transylvania.

- Red ceramics: These unglazed ceramics are covered with a white or brown slip (engobe) with wavy or spiral lines. They also may be covered with another layer of clay, on which impressions are produced with the fingers. Widely found in Muntenia, Oltenia, and Transylvania, red ceramics are used especially in households for storing and preserving meats, vegetables, and cereals.
- Glazed ceramics: This type is produced throughout Romania and uses a glaze prepared from metallic oxides, which gives the pottery a green, brown, or yellow color.

A variety of techniques are used to decorate the pottery. Incision (with fingernails, combs, or other objects) is one of the oldest methods. The designs are simple, usually linear or more rarely spiral or meandering lines. Excision involves creating relief work on the surface of the object. Bands or braids of clay may also be applied to the surface of the pottery, both as a way of increasing the strength of the vessel and of creating a decorative effect. The bands may be decorated with finger impressions or small incisions as well. Ornamental decorations made by hand may be attached to the vessel, including stylized representations of birds and animals, flowers, or bunches of grapes. Painting with brushes or other instruments is also practiced, with the potter forming lines and spirals in the finish as well as designs in the form of teardrops. The "teardrop" pattern is achieved by painting several concentric lines in different colors and allowing the painted lines to run into each other. The most widely used colors are white, yellow, red, green, and black.

A remarkable synthesis between art and technology, pottery has occupied many generations of craftsmen. Important masters include Victor and Eufrosina Vicşoreanu, Marin C. Truşcă, Grigore Ciungulescu, Ion Răducanu, Dumitru Şchiopu, Marin Murgăşanu, Constantin Colibaba, Ionică Stepan, Marin Nicolae, Gheorghe and Maria Iorga, Dumitru Mischiu, and Dumitru Paşcaniuc.

Although changes have occurred in the function of pottery, it remains a central element of interior décor. Plates, bowls, vases, toys, and other objects — harmoniously integrating form, color, and proportion — continue to be displayed in modern Romanian homes, as well as traditional ones.

Georgeta Roşu is an ethnologist and department director at the Romanian Peasant Museum. To date she has published Clay Toys *and* Wedding Ewers.

City Life

Irina Nicolau

Large or small, old or new, Romanian cities have one thing in common: unlike Western European cities, which have evolved for several centuries entirely separate from the village, they preserve strong connections with the rural world. This is evident especially in the way city people form relationships within families, among neighbors, friends, and even in the workplace.

Traditions and customs that revolved around the court, the churches, and the various guilds once thrived in Romanian cities. The calendar was filled with holidays and festivities. People were religious but also eager to celebrate. In the 17th century, for example, Bucharest had 100 churches and over 3,000 pubs and liquor stores. It was as if Bucharest dwellers divided their lives between wine and God.

Most of the older urban traditions faded in the 19th century with modernization and later with the mass culture that was imposed by 45 years of communism, rejected after 1989. Traditional folklife in Romanian cities persists, though, in family ceremonies (baptisms, engagements, weddings, funerals, starting a new home) and holiday celebrations (Christmas, Easter). Happy or sad occasions become opportunities for people to get together, eat, drink, bring each other presents, dance, and sing. Romanian city people don't like the anonymity and loneliness that are common in Western urban life, and so such gatherings are taken seriously. Parties on residential streets with private houses are known to involve the entire neighborhood. Things follow the same pattern in apartment buildings, which function as "vertical" streets: people lend each other money, a cup of oil, or extra chairs for a party. Such gestures are reminiscent of the solidarity we find in the smaller villages.

As for recent changes in city folklife, young people show a keen interest in new and foreign influences. As an example, Halloween began to be celebrated by some in Bucharest in 1998. On the other hand, a very popular form of city folklore, *bancul* — anecdotes or jokes told at work, while standing in line, on the bus, or during any get-together — has been observed less frequently since 1989. Economic and political realities demand more of people's time and dampen their sense of humor.



Guests dance a *hora* at a recent wedding reception at the Moldova Restaurant in Bucharest.

Photo courtesy Andreea Derşidan

Irina Nicolau holds a Ph.D. in ethnology and is a department director at the Romanian Peasant Museum. Her specializations are oral history, urban ethnology, and the cultural history of Balkan Romanians, and she is the author of three books.

Dracula: Hero or Villain?

Radu R. Florescu

Dracula is the real name of a Wallachian ruler, also known to Romanian chroniclers as Vlad the Impaler. *Dracula* is a derivative of his father's name, Dracul, which in Romanian means *the devil.* According to those more charitably inclined, the father was so known because he had been invested by the Holy Roman Emperor with the Order of the Dragon, dedicated to fighting "the Infidel." Dracula was, therefore, either the son of evil or the son of good, villain or hero.

Dracula ruled the Romanian principality of Wallachia on three separate occasions: in 1448, from 1456 to 1462, and, briefly, shortly before his assassination in 1476. These dates correspond to one of the most crucial periods in the country's history. Constantinople had fallen in 1453, most of the lands south of Wallachia had been converted into Turkish *pashaliks*, and the last hero of the Balkan crusades, John Hunyadi, had died in the plague of Belgrade in 1456. The Danube was thus the frontier of Christendom at a time when Mohammed the Conqueror was planning further Turkish inroads.

Little is really known about Dracula in the West beyond the best-selling Gothic novel written by Bram Stoker in 1897, which inspired innumerable Hollywood productions. The novel, partially set in Transylvania, contains three brief references to actual historical events and mentions the towns of Cluj, Bistriţa, and the Borgo Pass — but the bloodsucking vampire is a clear distortion of the historical personage. The first Romanian chronicle which mentions Dracula, dating from almost a century after his death, labels him Vlad the Impaler and confines his notoriety to the building of the famous castle and the monastery of Snagov where presumably he lies buried, though his body has never been found.



Left: Portrait of Dracula at Castle Ambras, near Innsbruck, Austria. The artist is unknown, but this appears to be a copy painted during the second half of the 16th century from an earlier original that was probably painted during Dracula's imprisonment at Buda or Visegrád after 1462.

Right: The Chindia watchtower at Târgovişte; a 19th-century reconstruction. Apart from its role as an observation post, it enabled Dracula to watch impalements in the courtyard below.

Images courtesy Radu R. Florescu

Romanian historians have shied away from using the name Dracula, unlike most contemporary sources both in Eastern and Western Europe. It was as Dracula that he was known to the Byzantine, Turkish, Venetian, Hungarian, Genoese, English, and French chroniclers of the 15th century. It is also in this guise that he is known in what might be described as the first Russian novel, entitled *Story about Prince Dracula*, appearing in over 11 versions from the 15th to the 18th centuries. German 15th-century stories also refer to the original name: Voievod Dracula. With the invention of printing, these narratives became best sellers by the standards of the period, four centuries before Stoker wrote his famous book. To these we may add a



rich compendium of Romanian folkloric material collected in the region of Dracula's castle.

Why should these tales have historical validity? The answer lies in a very simple fact: although they vary in some details and ethical interpretation, there is a remarkable coincidence between the German, Russian, and Romanian Dracula stories. While Germans and Russians use the name Dracula, the Romanian oral tradition labels the prince Vlad the Impaler, substantiating the fact that Dracula and the Impaler were one and the same personage.

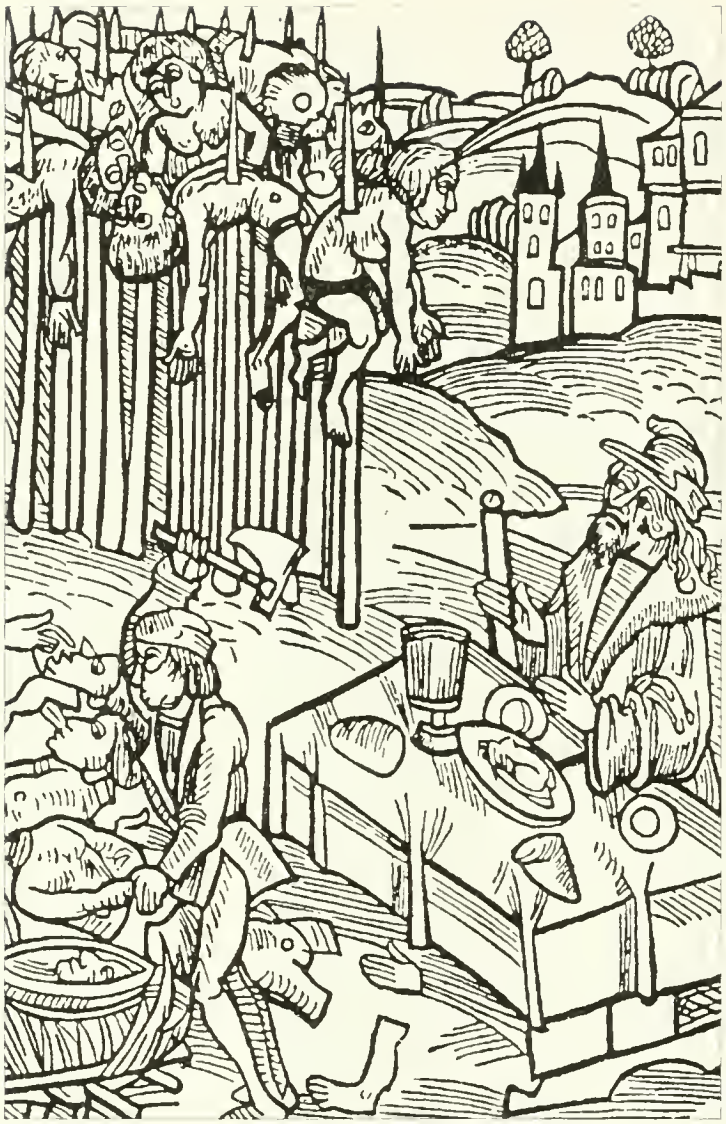
Hero or villain? The balance in 20th-century "vampire" parlance, with Bela Lugosi in mind (Lugosi, incidentally, was born in Lugoj, in Banat), accents the villainous aspects. Even the 15th- and 16th-century Russian and German stories about the man make a point of emphasizing Dracula's horrors, and the Romanian chroniclers have not labeled him the Impaler in vain. We are indeed far removed from the hero. Yet the interpretation of history is often a matter of the times, and moral standards are relative. Mass killings and torture of opponents were not Dracula's exclusive prerogatives. Impalement was an Asiatic method of torture widely practiced by the Turks. Moreover, before we study a historical character, we must take into account the historian's parti pris.

Let us recall that the more intimate details of Dracula's life were recorded by adversaries. The German pamphlets were written by émigré Catholic monks and Saxon merchants from Transylvanian townships that aroused Dracula's anger because they refused to pay tolls. Dracula attacked them, and a few escaped to the West. To dramatize their plight, they often exaggerated their misfortunes and besmirched Dracula's reputation. The author of the Russian narratives, a representative of the Grand Duke of Moscow at Buda, had a different reason for vilifying Dracula's character: terror was a useful tool in establishing future despots of Russia. Ivan the Terrible modeled some of his tortures on Dracula's (for instance, nailing the hats on the heads of impolite ambassadors). In the eyes of Orthodoxy, Dracula was anti-Christ, because, following his remarriage to a relative of King Mathias Corvinus of Hungary, he repudiated his traditional faith and converted to Catholicism. Thus the Russians hated Dracula on religious grounds (or stressed his villainous aspects as a positive role model for rulers), the Germans because he massacred them, the Turks because he fought them — each group had an obvious reason for defaming him.

When historians quarrel, it is sometimes healthy to invoke the rough and ready sense of justice of the people, particularly when, in the absence of documents, we have no other recourse. More impartial than the chroniclers, the peasants had a definite feeling for this prince, and in their oral tradition they rationalized Dracula's crimes, aware of the great dangers their country was facing both from the West and more particularly from the East.

All contemporary sources looked upon Dracula as the only Christian crusader to answer the call of Pope Pius II, who dared single-handedly to challenge the power of the Turkish sultan Mohammed the Conqueror, he being intent upon weakening the remaining free Balkan states. Facing overwhelming forces (40,000 against an army of 100,000), Dracula had to stage a strategic retreat, relying on a scorched-earth policy and harrying tactics under cover of the vast forest of the Wallachian plain. Although the capital city of Tîrgoviște had to be abandoned, Dracula left thousands of impaled cadavers, picket-fence fashion, north of the city. This terror had its impact on the sultan, who cried out: "What can we do against a man who commits such deeds!"

Much ink has been spent on the idle controversy centering on the problem of who won the war. By November 1462, Dracula was compelled to abandon his throne in favor of his brother Radu the Handsome, a Turkish protégé. The Turks were war-weary, short of food, plague-ridden, threatened with Hungarian intervention from Transylvania (which Dracula had solicited), and, persuaded by the scale of Dracula's impalements, withdrew the bulk of their forces during the month of Ramadan in 1462. On the



"Impale Forest," engraving from a German pamphlet published in Strassburg in 1500.

other hand, with most boyars rallying to Radu and his own army melting away, Dracula was forced to retreat to his castle in the Carpathians and thence threw himself on the tender mercies of King Mathias. The latter, instead of sending help, imprisoned Dracula in a tower of his Visegrád palace on the Danube, where Dracula was technically under "house arrest" for some 12 years. He died in December 1476, killed by a boyar opponent or a Turk who decapitated him and sent his head to Constantinople for all to see that the dreaded impaler was no more. His tragic end should not obscure the fact that his determined resistance helped preserve the integrity of the Wallachian state. This single service to the nation helps tilt the balance in favor of Dracula "the hero."

It was upon reading the book of an obscure 19th-century English consul-historian which he found in the Whitby Library in England that Bram Stoker decided to change the title of his Gothic novel from *The Vampire Count* to *Dracula*. Then the name of an obscure Romanian prince gained world recognition by way of the silver screen. It is now up to the Romanians to use this unique and extraordinary accident of history to their advantage in an intelligent fashion.

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Radu R. Florescu is professor emeritus of history and director of the East European Research Center at Boston College and honorary consul of Romania. He holds degrees from Oxford and Indiana Universities and has published widely on Romanian history and Dracula.

South Africa:
Crafting the Economic Renaissance of the Rainbow Nation



This program is produced with the collaboration and support of the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and the National Arts Council. Other contributors include the Department of Trade and Industry, Department of Foreign Affairs, Department of Sport and Recreation, Buy-Afrika, African Art Centre, and Skukuza Alliance. Special appreciation to Metro Travel and corporate sponsors, KWV and the Royal Hotel, Durban.

South Africa at the Festival: The Historical Context

James Early



For most of this century, the mere mention of South Africa has evoked images of immeasurable racist inhumanity in the minds of people across the globe. Yet the country has also represented a gloriously just struggle fueled by democratic aspirations for high human achievement. It was to this struggle that curators Bernice Johnson Reagon, Rosie Hooks, and I dedicated the three-month *African Diaspora* program at the Bicentennial Smithsonian Folklife Festival. Every morning at eleven o'clock, from June through August 1976, elders from African diaspora communities in the Americas and Africa paraded on the National Mall just below the monument to the nation's first president, George Washington, to pour a libation, invoking the spirits of the ancestors and acknowledging the aspirations of millions of South Africans to freely express their humanity and cultural ways of knowing and doing. A few weeks into the Festival, on June 16, the Soweto Uprising occurred against the forced use of Afrikaans as the language of educational instruction. Twenty-five children were killed by police.

In the 1980s, while the administration of the Smithsonian debated the Institution's corporate investment policy in apartheid South Africa, concern with the nexus of culture, democracy, and economic sustainability — today common in government bodies, U.S. foundations, the World Bank, and the United Nations Educational and Scientific Organization — was evolving in the work of many Smithsonian staff and Festival programs. In 1988 the Smithsonian Office of Folklife Programs — now the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage — and the Department of Anthropology of the National Museum of Natural History organized a symposium with The Smithsonian Associates, "South Africa Today: Life in a Divided Society." South African historians, biographers, and writers from all racial backgrounds were invited to the Smithsonian to discuss how the rigid system of racial separation impacted the lives of the majority populations. And in 1994, when the South African liberation movement emerged victorious, the South African Ministry of Culture's Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and the Smithsonian initiated discussions and plan-

South Africa's monumental achievement came through often bloody battles and life-defining sacrifices, especially among rural and urban grassroots communities, who used their cultural traditions to resist oppression and to affirm their identities.



Ndebele bead work. *Photo by Paola Gianturco*

ning for a long-term collaboration on a broad range of cultural heritage projects, including a Festival program. Since 1996, in the framework of the South Africa-Smithsonian Culture and Community-Building Reciprocal Learning Program, Smithsonian and South African colleagues have participated in educational and capacity-building activities designed to enhance professional development through collegial exchange.

South Africa: Crafting the Economic Renaissance of the Rainbow Nation features nearly 100 South African grassroots community artisans and cultural officials. Of course, their presence on the National Mall of the U.S. capital is linked in direct ways to the country's recent past. South Africa's monumental achievement came through often bloody battles and life-defining sacrifices, especially among rural and urban grassroots communities, who used their cultural traditions to resist oppression and to affirm their identities. This fact was not lost on the country's future leaders, many of whom participated themselves in cultural acts of resistance and affirmation. However, the significance of their presence is also bound up with the newly democratized nation's use of its cultural heritage to craft its immediate future. The South Africa Festival program addresses the role of handicraft and statecraft in the formulation of a new South African national identity, economy, and political democracy.

As South African communities discover and rediscover the value of their heritage, they proclaim their numerous, varied, and distinctive cultural traditions: languages, religions, healing practices, modes of democratic representation and participation, musical styles, recreational games, regional cuisines, and uses of available natural resources. The artisans, cultural communities, and public servants who are coming together to present, discuss, and debate concepts of cultural identity, cultural enterprise, and cultural democracy are indeed consciously engaged in fashioning a collective national story.

The apartheid regime emphasized individual identity to divide, demean, and exploit the country along lines of race, color, culture, and economic class. This racialized history makes it difficult to employ cultural distinctions in the formation of a new national identity that equitably reflects the diversity of values and economic capacities of all citizens. Nevertheless, South Africans are forging ahead on all fronts to draw upon their rich diversity in the transformation from the old to the emerging national identity.

No tried-and-true formulas for success exist. Criteria that define a successful marriage of cultural enterprise and cultural tourism are not altogether clear. Many ethical issues arise as living cultural communities enter the marketplace seeking remuneration for the sale of their cultural products and display of their cultural life.

Individual artisans and cultural communities are using their traditions to start cultural businesses, cultural centers, and museums. Private and government-sponsored cultural tourism is also being developed. As the philosophy and practice of cultural industries and tourism evolves in developing countries — and in developing communities in developed countries — new, sometimes thorny questions arise about authenticity, integrity, and exploitation. Such is the case in South Africa.

Should, or how should, communities benefit from marketing their cultural traditions? Should one community control the finances and administration of cultural enterprises and reap the bulk of the profits from the sale of another community's living cultural representations? Should not the independent decisions of cultural communities and individual

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culture bearers be respected as to how they use their agency in the marketplace — with whom and under what arrangements — to display or represent their culture? What role, if any, should the South African government play in fostering cultural enterprises and tourism that achieve acceptable balances between national craft export policies, maintenance of community cultural integrity, and sustainable community economic development?

No doubt some people argue that commodification of community heritage is disrespectful of tradition and demeaning of the individuals who might choose, because of economic necessity or other personal reasons, to perform or package tradition for monetary gain. Some of the cultural tourism villages and craft cooperatives in South Africa, capitalized and administered by people historically privileged with access to education, funds, and administrative skills, are artificial and disturbing ventures in which whole families live on site and open their homes to droves of tourists bused in to see "authentic" ethnic community or township life. A contrasting model of control of cultural production, marketing, sales, and consequent creation of jobs, however, can be found among some traditional cultural communities in which women are the sole craft producers and entrepreneurs.

The implications of crafting the economic renaissance of the Rainbow Nation are clear to South African cultural communities and their representatives. They involve nothing less than issues of cultural education and respect, political participation, and economic advancement for the whole country. Craftspeople, as citizens and knowledge keepers, have become central to the work of provincial and national governments, educators, trade and tourism industries, museums, art galleries, corporate supporters of the arts, and, of course, their own entrepreneurial projects. Integration of traditional knowledge and technology into national development is underway. Extensive research, public forums, cultural policy papers, and constitutional laws have been developed to guide and assess the South African national cultural project.

Through its struggle with tensions between principles of individual and group rights, monolingualism and multilingualism, rural-urban inequities, and the intrinsic local value of culture and its use to pursue wider goals, South Africa may once again capture the world's imagination and advance the understanding and practice of cultural democracy as a key to national economic development.

The cultural work going on in all sectors of South Africa indicates rather convincingly that crafting the economic renaissance of the Rainbow Nation will not be forestalled by challenging questions or abstract moral concerns. As in the freedom struggle against apartheid, answers are to be found in the process of conscious national transformation.

The Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage dedicates this program to the memory of two South African cultural workers who lived exemplary lives of commitment to grassroots community culture and democracy. Lazarus Mphahlele, an accomplished singer and performer, and Paulos Msimanga, noted for nurturing young musicians in community traditions, participated in the 1997 Festival program **Sacred Sounds: Belief and Society.** ***Both died shortly afterwards.***

Lazarus was deputy director of Culture in Pietersburg, Northern Province, and former leader of the African National Congress cultural ensemble Amandla. Paulos was the public relations officer of the South African Traditional Music Association.

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James Early is director of cultural heritage policy at the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage, and co-curator of this year's South Africa program.

South Africa: Crafting the Economic Renaissance of the Rainbow Nation

Ruphus Matibe

Much has happened since the first democratic elections in 1994 brought freedom to millions of South Africans. Celebrated across the land, the elections changed the lives of South Africans in political, social, and economic spheres. Focus and energy previously directed into the struggle for liberation are now channeled into social and economic action. The elections have brought a particular kind of freedom to artists and craftspeople. No longer engaged in the fight for freedom, artists and crafters now have the time and resources to concentrate on creativity.

At the close of the 20th century, South Africa is witnessing a renaissance of some of the world's oldest living art and craft traditions. Indigenous artists and crafters from all nine provinces are drawing from their heritage to express contemporary realities. They are bringing their culture onto the international stage. Crafters' innovative use of found objects and recycled material is a testimony to this change of focus, the most visible recent development in South African craft. There is a strong nucleus of this kind of work in the program we bring to the Festival.

A wide range of genres, from painting and murals to ephemeral art, is covered in this program. We intend to present South Africa as a world in one new country, a new country in the world, vibrant and colorful, with cultural diversity and artistic expression from diverse inspirations — our history, our geography, our languages, and our ethnic groups.



An Ndebele woman passing on a traditional art form to the next generation. *Photo courtesy SATOUR*

Talk about democracy, talk about the struggle for liberation and the unshackling of the mind, talk about creativity — and you are talking about the people who "crafted" South Africa, the mothers and fathers who kept creative fires burning during the fierce days of apartheid. South African crafters, especially women, have been and still are the backbone of families whose young men were recruited to work in diamond and gold mines or in other industries far from home. Through their hard work and creativity, through sales of their crafts, these artists have lifted rural and, to a certain extent, urban standards of living.

The visitor moving through this Festival will be walking along the path traveled by millions of South Africans in search of social, economic, and political comfort. This road will take you from traditional and decorative murals of rural Venda to contemporary murals influenced by the struggle for liberation and found on walls and bridges in Soweto; from grass woven baskets of KwaZulu-Natal to wares made in Gauteng from telephone wire; from traditional beaded Xhosa cloth to hand-printed banners and T-shirts bearing the logos of political parties. We hope this exhibition widens your appreciation of the quality and variety of South African art and craft, while it accurately reflects the diversity of experience of the country's communities.

We have given care to try to create an atmosphere similar to the one in which most of the crafters work. The sound of the chisel chipping through wood or stone, the humming noise in the shebeen or tavern, the shouts of joy from

children playing their favorite games are a true reflection of these artists' and crafters' daily lives. The beat of the drum, too, is a natural sound in our communities.

Music forms an integral part of South African life. We sing when celebrating and when mourning, we sing when working and when playing. We sing when we're happy, when we're sad, and when we *toyi-toyi* — a dance we use to express solidarity, especially during mass demonstrations. Traditionally, fighters in Venda have demonstrated their dedication by singing. In the early days, they sang praises to the chief; in the struggle years, they sang freedom songs; now they sing their demands for houses and other necessities. The tunes have not changed — only the words are different. It is a quintessentially South African practice.



The sound of the chisel on wood is the crafter's daily companion. *Photo courtesy GCIS*

One reason this program is so richly diverse is that crafters are true to their own and their communities' commentaries on reality. No one is demanding a single style that craft dealers think will sell quickly. The imperatives of the marketplace do not often penetrate the rural areas. There, tradition rules, and the ancestors are honored.

South Africa: Crafting the Economic Renaissance of the Rainbow Nation is a program intended to serve as a window into the past and future of South Africa's traditional crafters and their crafts. We have attempted to maintain a clear distinction between a cultural trade fair and a folklife festival. We have tried to provide a forum for tradition bearers themselves to communicate their aesthetic and humanistic traditions, their religious perspectives, and their social values with a wider public through song, dance, cooking, architecture, games, and stories as well as through their visual art.

The focus here is on the people and their way of life — communities crafting a new South African identity through participation in national economic life and democratic development. Communities are the focal point for understanding how skills are passed on from one generation to the next, how geography and natural resources influence craft development, and how people can work together to achieve a common purpose.

Ruphus Matibe is co-curator of the South Africa program and a staff member with the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. He has curated several art exhibitions in South Africa and abroad. Mr. Matibe holds a master of arts degree in media and cultural policy. He is the son of one of South Africa's most renowned potters.

Musical Instruments of South Africa

Andrew Tracey

The greatest of all musical instruments on the African continent is the voice. This is especially true in South Africa, which has strong choral traditions but, compared with most African countries, relatively few indigenous instruments. We have many kinds of musical bows, several drums, some reedpipes, and one xylophone. How is this selection to be explained?

The answer can be found in cultural history and ecology. The majority of South Africans are descendants of cattle-keeping Nguni and Sotho peoples. These semi-nomadic pastoralists traditionally lived on open, grassy plains and organized themselves in large-scale societies with powerful chiefs. Their principal forms of public musical performance were singing and dancing in large groups. In other parts of Africa also, cattle keepers prefer singing to instrument-playing.

African farmers, on the other hand, play more instruments. In South Africa these farmers are the northern peoples, the Venda, the Tsonga, and the Pedi.

The kinds of plants that grow in a particular ecology also determine the instruments that are played, because people usually make instruments out of local materials. People who live in or near forests use large trees to make drums and xylophones; people who live in *bushveld*, the grassy plains in most of South Africa, make smaller instruments that use sticks, reeds, and gourds.

To grasp the variety of musical instruments, scholars classify them into four families, according to how they vibrate to produce their sound. All four are represented in South Africa: chordophones (in which strings vibrate), membranophones (in which a skin or other membrane vibrates), aerophones (in which a column of air vibrates), and idiophones (in which the body of the instrument itself vibrates).



A musician plays the pan flute at a flea market in Johannesburg. *Photo courtesy SATOUR*

Although musical bows (chordophones) are played by few people these days, they once had a big part in music here; the scales used in most traditional South African songs come from bow-playing. Historians believe that many of our musical bows came from the Khoi people, the original inhabitants of South Africa.

A musical bow is a string instrument made of a long wooden stick, with one string, usually of metal, stretched from end to end. To play some bows, a player strikes the string with a piece of grass or a small stick. In other traditions, the player rubs or "bows" it with a straight stick or with another small bow made of hair from a cow or horse tail. In still other places, one plays with one's fingers, or with a small pick made of a thorn or a piece of wood. Sometimes one makes the instrument sound by scraping the notches cut in the bow with a rattle-stick. One bow is even blown with the mouth — the *lesiba*, an original Khoi instrument that is still played among the Sotho people.

Although there are differences between the many kinds of bows, all have a resonator and at least two fundamental notes. The resonator is a hollow gourd or tin that amplifies the sound of the bow's vibrating string. If the player holds the bow against his or her mouth, the mouth itself becomes the resonator. Fundamental notes are the deepest notes which the string gives, as against the higher notes, the harmonics, which you can hear coming from the resonator. There are at least two fundamental notes, although some bows give three or more. The Zulu *umakhweyana* and the Tsonga *xitende* give three. The Venda *tshihwana* gives four.

One note comes from the string when it is open — that is, when the player

does not finger it or shorten it. Xhosa call this note *VU*, from the word *vuliwe* (open). The other, higher note comes from the string when a player fingers or shortens it in some way. Xhosa call this *BA*, from *banjiwe* (held). The interval between *VU* and *BA* is often a whole tone, but in Zulu tradition it is a semitone and in Tsonga, a minor third.

Drums (membranophones) are important instruments among the northern peoples of South Africa. Venda call them *murumba* and *ngoma*; among Tsonga they are *ngoma*; and among Pedi, they are *meropa*. Drums are royal instruments among Venda; they are symbols of royal authority. Traditional drums are made of wood with a skin on one or both ends. Each drummer in a group plays a different but related rhythm to create polyrhythmic music.

Zulus and Swazis also play many drums these days. They first borrowed their design in the late 1800s from the drums of British army bands. These modern instruments, as well as those used by Zionist Christian churches, are usually made of metal oil drums with a skin laced on at both ends. Even when there are many, they are all played together in the same powerful unison rhythm.

Reedpipes (aerophones) are often played by large groups of people on important social occasions. Each reedpipe is a simple instrument made of a single river reed cut to the right length to sound a particular note on the scale. But reedpipes are played together cooperatively in a very complex way. Each man inserts his one note into the music at exactly the right time, while dancing simultaneously to rhythms provided by a women's drum ensemble that performs at the center of a circle of dancing men. Best known are the reedpipes of the northern peoples, the Venda *tshikona* (which is also the Venda national dance) and the Pedi *dinaka*, as well as the Tswana/Bamalete *letlhaka* in Botswana.

Once boys who herded livestock played reed flutes, but only rarely now. These instruments have finger holes like a penny whistle, but are blown on the side, not at the end. The Zulu *umtshingo* — like the Xhosa *ixilongo* and the Sotho *lekolilo* — is made of reed or pawpaw leaf and is blown at the end. The bottom end is the only finger hole, and it creates harmonics, like the musical bows. During dances, northern peoples sometimes blow on single kudu (sable antelope) horns — called *phalaphala* in Venda, *phalafala* in Pedi, and *xipalapala* in Tsonga.

The northern peoples are traditionally the only ones in South Africa who play the *mbira* or thumb piano (an idiophone), a small instrument with a wooden body and 10 to 22 or more tuned iron keys fixed to it. A player plucks the keys with the thumbs or fingers. These *mbira*s are played unaccompanied for the player's enjoyment or to accompany topical and personal songs.

There was only one traditional xylophone in South Africa, the Venda *mbila mutondo*, a beautiful, large instrument with carved wooden keys and gourd resonators underneath, played with rubber-tipped sticks. Unfortunately, it is no longer played. The modern Afro-marimba from Zimbabwe, made in four different sizes and played in groups, has become very popular in the cities since 1980, especially among Xhosa speakers.

Andrew Tracey is director of the International Library of African Music at Rhodes University, Grahamstown, the archive and institute for the study of traditional African music founded by his father, Hugh Tracey, in 1954. Hugh spent his life documenting African music; Andrew has spent his studying instrumental playing in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, and elsewhere, which now forms part of the degree course for prospective ethnomusicological researchers offered at Rhodes University. He has lectured widely, appeared on television, and has perhaps been even better known over the last 30 years for his steel band.

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***Dances of the Witwatersrand Gold Mines.* Music of Africa 12, 13.**

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The Role of the Crafter in Development

Evelyn Senna



Small-sized enterprises such as this brass factory have become a dominant factor in development economies. *Photo courtesy SATOUR*

Craftspeople, or crafters, play an important role in all six areas of the South African government's Reconstruction and Development Program: education and training; arts and culture; youth development; building the economy; the environment; and industry, trade, and commerce. "Craft is important," says Kushu Dlamini of KwaZulu-Natal, a potter and beadworker, "because craft is a way of life. It is part of the culture of the people, what people rely on to earn a living."

In recent years entrepreneurship, especially in small-sized enterprises, has become a dominant theme in development economics. This sector is seen as essential for growth, job creation, and social progress. Those with entrepreneurial talents should not only survive, but prosper.

This emphasis in policy is ideal for a craft industry composed of small, flexible enterprises that adapt easily to changing market opportunities. Crafts require relatively little capital, can combine simple and advanced technology as appropriate, and, being generally labor-intensive, contribute significantly to job creation.

There is a major need for craft awareness programs to show that creating crafts can actually be a lucrative business. In the words of Dave Innes at the First National Bank (FNB) Vita Regional

Craft Now Exhibition in North West Province in 1997, "South Africa's unique and excellent craftsmanship stands out in a world where production-line mediocrity has become acceptable. To avoid the melting pot syndrome, we must protect and acknowledge every single entity of our country's heritage."

Tourists are no longer looking for ethnic craft per se but are seeking well-made and original crafts; as a result, there is a need for training in product development, in creating objects that can be marketed all over the world. The craft industry's major concerns are lacks in financial assistance, public exposure, export opportunities, and organizational infrastructure.

Crafters need to develop the skills to coordinate their own exhibitions, to have their works exhibited to the local public, and to promote an interest in and appreciation for craft on all levels in all regions. Workshops are needed in rural or other underprivileged areas to develop skills in basic business management, accounting, craft marketing, sustainability, quality control, retail sales, and running permanent provincial craft galleries.

"We need permanent provincial galleries to showcase the best of the province," says Steven Modise, a Northern Cape textile designer and printer, "and to facilitate craft development through teaching."

"When we attend workshops," says Louis Thabo Muir, a woodcarver and potter in the North West Province, "we want to be awarded with certificates that empower us to teach others."

There is also a need for a craft magazine or journal that can help the industry, giving crafters exposure, putting them in touch with one another, and creating a network among people in the craft industry. And there is an ever-increasing demand for a single, detailed, and continuously updated database of crafters.

To address these and other needs, the Craft Development Project Trust has entered into partnership with the National Crafts Council of South Africa (the former Craft Action Body) with the following goals in mind:

- increasing opportunities for craftspeople to participate equitably in arts- and culture-related industries;
- adding levels of self-investigation, creative conceptualization, and communication for crafters through their teaching of others, while opening up career paths and additional income-generating activities for them;
- enabling partnerships between schoolteachers and crafters in order to enrich the experience and skills of teachers by introducing them to cultural activities;
- stimulating the creative and cultural development of in-school learners through crafts; focusing and developing the creative energy and potential income-generating skills of youngsters through crafts; and developing teachers' confidence and enthusiasm as they develop their own skills;
- encouraging the use of museums and galleries as educational resources;
- harnessing the capabilities and resources of professional craftspeople for the purposes of promoting arts and culture education and training in all areas of learning.

Through advocacy, education, and training, we are investing in the future development and support of the arts.



A craftsperson puts the finishing touches on a doll. Job creation is a major component of the South African crafts industry. *Photo courtesy GCIS*

Suggested Reading

Meyer, L. 1994. *Art and Craft in Africa: Everyday Life, Ritual, Court Art.* Paris: Pierre Terrail.

The journal *Craft News*, published by the National Craft Council of South Africa, Craft Action Body since 1997, contains many articles of interest.

Evelyn Carrass Senna is chairperson of the National Crafts Council of South Africa, a fine arts lecturer at the University of the North West, crafts panelist member of the National Arts Council, and managing director of Ngeba Crafts. She is also provincial chairperson of the Craft Action Body in North West Province and interim chairperson of the province's Arts and Culture Council.

Shebeens

Vusi Mona

Before South Africa's turbulent, political 1980s, shebeens were the mainstay of Black social life — very much as pubs are social centers in the United Kingdom — and legion in almost every African township.

However, due to an exodus of Blacks with disposable income to previously White suburbs, shebeens in South Africa's townships are presently under financial threat. Shebeen owners in the townships must attract their clientele from among a market that either has no money to spend on liquor or prefers to spend money at upscale venues in town. The aspiring masses, left behind by the new Black elite, also want to escape the township squalor and tiny, four-room "matchbox" houses and have a taste of the finer things in life. And if those finer things are associated with town, that's where they'll spend their money.

Yet in spite of the overall decline in shebeen business, one still finds some places in townships throughout the country doing a roaring trade. Take, for example, Wandie's Place in Dube, Soweto, South Africa's most populous Black township. The owner, Wandile Ndala, says he knows that some of his friends in the shebeen business are not doing well, but he hasn't experienced the problem of shrinking patronage. In fact, his shebeen attracts an assortment of customers: foreign tourists (representing 70 percent of his clientele); a number of upwardly mobile Blacks who are tired of living "incommunicado" in self-imposed suburban exile, holed up in a fancy townhouse or mansion behind vast white walls; and trendy White South Africans who are keen to see the other (Black) side of South African life.



Usually set up in a small township house, a shebeen was literally a home away from home.
Photo courtesy DACST

What's his secret? "I welcome guests as friends," he says. "More than that, I think it's my personal touch." Ndala's place — a four-room house extended into a spacious L-shaped hall — is a sophisticated and friendly little joint indeed. His is a shebeen where one can discover heavenly entertainment and remedial potions for flagging spirits caused by suburbia's dull existence and lack of proper diversions.

Ndala's priorities, he says, are good company, good atmosphere, and good food, every day. And this is very much in keeping with the tradition of shebeens. For shebeens were always an oasis where laborers and artisans rubbed elbows with lawyers and musicians, engaging in conversations that ranged around all subjects, from soccer and music to politics and philosophy. Traditionally set up in a small township house, a shebeen was literally a home away from home: patrons relaxed in the living room or in the concrete yard in the back — a space shared by several other tiny matchbox houses. Drinks — and sometimes food — were served from the kitchen.

Shebeens met the need for social centers brought about by mushrooming urban African settlements. They started as places where people could stop for a drink, a chat, a date, or beautiful music.

In the poorer areas, these drinking houses gave birth to *marabi*, a precursor of modern South African jazz. In the 1930s and 1940s, shebeen proprietors in

poor areas would sometimes hire musicians — normally an accordionist and a singer — to attract customers. The musicians would perform until dawn. In more affluent areas, clubs had access to electricity, and jazz recordings were played. By the 1950s, future stars like Dolly Radebe and Miriam Makeba occasionally performed at top-of-the-line shebeens. But for the most part, patrons who wanted to hear live jazz — until the mid-1950s, dominated by big bands — went to performances in community halls.

In a country that restricted the entry of Black men and women into most businesses, shebeens became a good way to make a living....

Ironically, shebeens also owe their existence to a myriad of liquor laws enacted by the erstwhile National Party government. There was a time in South Africa when the government would not allow Blacks to consume alcohol unless they had a permit and could prove they had passed Standard 8 (10th grade). Those who were lucky enough were entitled to buy — only from a White man, of course — six bottles of beer and one bottle of more refined firewater (brandy or whisky) per month.

However, "township mamas," undeterred by liquor control laws, simply brewed and sold their own concoctions, turning their homes into social rendezvous. In a country that restricted the entry of Black men and women into most businesses, shebeens became a good way to make a living — as long as you didn't mind turning your living room into a pub and your kitchen into a home-brew storeroom.

It was worth the sacrifice. Generations of Black South African professionals, including some current politicians, were educated on the proceeds of their mothers' shebeens. Often unskilled and the sole support of their families, the women (called shebeen queens) who ran these informal drinking holes had few other commercial options. They could work as domestic servants, for example. They could try peddling pastries, sweets, and other small items — or they could run illegal drinking houses. Many shebeen queens showed an astute business sense, and we can only imagine what they might have achieved if the world of legitimate commerce had been open to them.

Never at a loss for repressive laws, the National Party government set up its own sorghum-brewing concerns and beer halls and made it illegal for Blacks to brew and sell their own. But a determined people always finds a way of defying an unjust law. The government finally gave up, and in 1984 officially recognized shebeens. Liquor licenses were issued; legal shebeens became known as taverns. Activist youths — who saw drinking and revelry as an obstacle to the discipline required by the liberation struggle — had meanwhile been trying to close shebeens down, and sadly they had some successes. But hundreds — licensed and unlicensed — continued to operate, and in the 1990s, the institution scored a comeback.

Although one can find hard-core shebeens in almost every African township, the ones with class and sophistication — at the risk of sounding condescending — are found in townships in the environs of big cities like Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town. Take, for example, Steers in Section N of Umlazi, near Durban. Steers boasts a TV set with M-Net (the pay-television channel), a big screen for sports viewing, excellent toilet facilities, parking, and security. Although the people who patronize it are somewhat full of themselves, it nevertheless casts the image of shebeens in a good light.

There has also been a move to open shebeens in the suburbs. Mama's Jazz Joint was the best known of these, operating in Dunkeld West in Johannesburg and filling the gap for elite Blacks who had moved to the suburbs. Its owner, Charmain Modjadji, has recently succumbed to pressure and closed the tavern after complaints by her neighbors, who were afraid it would drive their property values down. People who patronized her abode were socially polished and sophisticated, and drunken brawls never occurred at Mama's. Modjadji argues that the complaints were indicative of how Blacks have to "fit into" White culture in order to be accepted in the suburbs. Still convinced that shebeens in town are a good idea, she's in the process of setting up another one in Midrand, a burgeoning city midway between Johannesburg and Pretoria.

Major food and restaurant franchisers are taking their cue from shebeens — the sports taverns they are opening throughout the country are modeled on these traditional drinking spots. One can even find a venue called the Travellers Shebeen & Bar at the Johannesburg International Airport.

For a taste of the glory and magic of the original shebeen, however, one must go back to the township. Here shebeens may no longer be doing the roaring trade they used to, and they may continue to undergo changes in form and style. But they will undoubtedly be passed on as custom and tradition from one generation of the Black community to the next.

Vusi Mona is assistant editor of City Press, *a mass-market national Sunday newspaper.*

Crafts and the Spatial Development Initiatives

Eddie Koch

Two years ago, visitors faced a major hazard on their way to the Numbi Gate entrance of Kruger National Park, the country's most famous game reserve. Young boys who spent their time carving birds, giraffes, and elephants from local hardwoods were so desperate to sell their crafts that they would sometimes lie down in the middle of the road, forcing tourists to stop and inspect their goods. That situation has now changed to the benefit of all parties, thanks to the work of an enterprising organization called the Skukuza Alliance, which is headed by craftsman and sculptor Philemon Ngomane.

In 1997, Ngomane and his assistant, Harry Johnson — an artist brought in by the Kruger National Park management to help stimulate quality craft manufacturing in the surrounding villages — realized that the only way to improve the quality of the craftspeople's products, and hence their lives, was to improve the organization of their production systems.

"In those days our members were not cooperating with each other," says Ngomane. "You would find one guy cutting the trees, carving the sculptures, and [also] trying to stop the cars to buy his artworks. In the end, he did nothing well, and the tourists did not want to buy his goods."

One of the first things that Ngomane and Johnson did was to convince the crafters — more than 400 of them in the villages around Kruger's Numbi Gate — that they needed to unite under the umbrella of the Skukuza Alliance and work out a more rational division of labor. Says Johnson: "It wasn't easy, because crafters are traditionally very independent. But we managed to show that if some people went into the bush to collect wood while others concentrated on actually making the sculptures, and another group ran a shop where the goods are sold, then the quality of the product — and the sales — would go up. People could simply concentrate on what they do best."



The recent growth in tourism in South Africa provides a ready market for the craft industry and increased opportunity to create employment, for example for these roadside vendors in Mpumalanga.
Photo courtesy SATOUR

After a few difficult months, the cooperative system began to yield results, and crafters flocked to join the Skukuza Alliance. As quality and productivity increased, tour buses, which usually shied away from the Numbi entrance to avoid having their vehicles ambushed by crafters, began to use the gate more often; their passengers expressed a consistent desire to buy local crafts. A study conducted by the South African Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST) found that the Skukuza Alliance has achieved the following since it began in 1997. It has:

- encouraged local craft producers to cooperate with each other and specialize in specific tasks.
- created average monthly earnings of some R330 (approximately $54) for about 400 members. This includes sales at two outlets along with informal distribution outlets established by members of the association. Although the wage is low, it equals the average for this area of the country.

- trained members of the association to successfully manage the craft shop at Numbi Gate using a simple but highly effective monitoring and bookkeeping system that allows the association to tell how many artifacts have been sold by an artist, measure the traffic flows through the gate, the number of vehicles that stop and



purchase, the purchasing habits of the tourists, etc.
- encouraged tour buses to use this route specifically because of the improved quality of the crafts sold there — without paying a commission to the bus drivers, a practice in many other craft outlets.
- encouraged the management of the curio shops inside the game reserve to purchase crafts from the local associations. This was a major breakthrough, as the management of this lucrative outlet had long relied on imported crafts and curios, arguing that the quality of local crafts was too low to be sold in the shop.
- ensured cooperation between craft associations that have a strong history of sectarianism and internal fracturing.

"Our membership now exceeds 400 if you include the part-time crafters," says Ngomane. "Many of these people earn more than the average wage in the area, and for many of them it is the only form of employment around here."

Crafts are one of the few ways that rural people without formal skills can earn money. The average capital cost per job created in this sector is far lower than in the tourism or manufacturing sector, especially in those enterprises designed to be competitive internationally. The recent growth in tourism in South Africa provides a ready market for the craft industry and an opportunity to create employment. Inspired by the example of the Skukuza Alliance, DACST is looking at ways to improve crafters' production and livelihood in many of the country's main tourism zones.



Above: Through the sale of their handiwork, craftspeople such as these basket sellers in Durban (KwaZulu-Natal) have been able to raise the standard of living in rural areas.

Left: An entrepreneur from Postmasburg, Northern Cape, fills bottles with colored sand to sell to tourists.
Photos courtesy SATOUR

As part of its new macroeconomic strategy, the South African government has recently begun to stimulate new international tourism destinations in several parts of the country. Most of these high-growth tourism zones are located in areas known as spatial development initiatives, or SDIs. In these corridors or geographical areas, the government is improving transport, security, and environmental protection, and providing other incentives to attract investments in hotels, resorts, and lodges. The Skukuza Alliance is located near the Maputo Development Corridor, an SDI that is already ferrying increased numbers of tourists into the Kruger National Park. Other tourism SDIs are located in KwaZulu-Natal province, along the Wild Coast of the Eastern Cape, and on the Cape West Coast.

Based on its recent successes, the Skukuza Alliance is currently pressing for the right to open an outlet at the far busier main entrance to the park at Paul Kruger Gate. The alliance's plans include a small training center and lodging for low-budget travelers. A trust called the Mkhabela Foundation is being established to plan expansion of the small businesses set up by the alliance.

Says Ngomane: "If the government can give the kind of support we received to other crafters around the country, I can promise you it will be one of the best ways to prevent joblessness among our people. And at the same time they will make us very proud, because they make us artists — not just workers."

Eddie Koch is a director of Mafisa, a company that specializes in research and planning for community involvement in tourism. He is a contributing editor to Out There *magazine and writes regularly for* New Scientist *magazine, primarily on issues relating to travel and conservation.*

Rural Architecture

Melinda Silverman

Of all the routes leading north out of Johannesburg, the Old Pretoria Road used to be one of the most graceful. The eucalyptus trees along the route were just dense enough to provide shade without obstructing the views out into the *veld* (grassland). Less than 15 years ago, the prettiest of these views was a cluster of brightly painted Ndebele homesteads just a few minutes' drive from the city.

Today the Old Pretoria Road is a busy commercial strip running through Midrand, South Africa's fastest-growing "edge city." The eucalyptus trees have been cut down, and the Ndebele settlements have disappeared, replaced by cinemas, shopping centers, and office parks that accommodate an array of multinational, high-tech industries.

This is known as progress — just one of the pressures to which South Africa's indigenous architecture is continually subject. Yet, miraculously, people continue to build in more or less traditional ways — they just do it further and further from urban areas, or they manage to carve out places in big cities where they can practice traditional customs and blur the divide between urban and rural.

Viewed through the eyes of White authorities, South Africa's landscape has always had a cartoon-like clarity: White, urban centers surrounded by Black, rural hinterland. Square buildings against round ones; concrete against mud; the supposedly civilized against the supposedly naive, natural, and native. This anthropological antithesis formed a rationale for apartheid — the system which tried to confine South Africa's Black population in remote rural hinterlands. Africans who defied this stark scheme were tolerated in cities only on condition of their impermanence, for as long as their labor was necessary for the White economy. When urban Africans ceased to be of use, they had to return to areas designated as tribal.



An example of traditional architecture by the Basotho people in Clarens, Free State.

Photo courtesy SATOUR

The result was a constant shuttle movement of people, commodities, and ideas between urban and rural areas that persists into the present. Buses and taxis ferrying men from the city to the countryside are laden with plastic water containers and corrugated iron. In turn, rural, mud-based architecture has been transported to the squatter settlements that are springing up in urban areas. Traditional beer has found a home in township shebeens. And the ritual slaughter of goats now takes place on the rooftops of high-rise apartments.

The sharp distinction between European architecture and African traditional culture had ceased to exist long before a polychromatic Rainbow Nation came to replace the black-and-white of apartheid. Cultural interpenetration proclaims itself even in the "traditional" brightly painted decorations adorning the walls of Ndebele homesteads, which complexly weave rural with urban and traditional with new. As Rayda Becker, curator of the Gertrude Posel Gallery in Johannesburg, explains:

> When asked why they paint the walls of their houses, Ndebele women often provide a general explanation

in terms of ethnic identity: to show the outsider that "Ndebele live here." Then again the designs they paint — street lights, double-story houses, staircases — are often drawn from visits to the city and poignantly express personal longings: "I paint electric lights on my wall because my house does not have lights." (Becker 1998:83)

One lesson to be learned from the now-gone Old Pretoria Road settlement is that there has ceased to be — if there ever was — a "pure" indigenous architecture. Different ethnic groups have copied ideas from one another and have increasingly incorporated available industrial materials. For many years, the roof of each building on the Old Pretoria Road was made of corrugated iron, held in place by stones and tires. Some of the windows were standard frames with glass. And the paint was commercial PVA (acrylic paint). The only completely traditional room was the detached kitchen, which was carefully thatched in the time-honored way because thatch, unlike iron sheeting, allows smoke to percolate through.

Ndebele and Sotho builders, whose ancestral lands are close to the metropolitan areas of Gauteng, have been strongly influenced by what is available in the cities. Their homes have become increasingly rectangular rather than round. As Franco Frescura, the country's leading scholar on rural architecture, explains: "In a society where mass produced furniture and [architectural] fittings are based on the straight line and the 90 degree angle, the curved wall creates too many awkward corners and wasted spaces for it to be fully efficient" (Frescura 1981:75). Corrugated iron, the staple housing material of South Africa's poor, is made only in rectangular sheets, a shape that encourages straight, right-angled walls. The roofing material is easily available, easily dismantled, and easily transported whenever the owner is obliged to move on. These qualities made it particularly useful in the era when Africans were under constant threat of removal by the White state. Corrugated iron was a prudent choice — very often the iron roofing was the only part of a home that could be salvaged and reused in a new home in a new location.

But there are regions of South Africa where rural life predominates and where traditional forms of architecture show less industrial influence. In the remote parts of KwaZulu-Natal, Zulu householders have been building hemispherical grass houses in much the same way for the last 200 years. These homes are extraordinarily sophisticated examples



of thatching technology, often incorporating as many as seven different grass types in their construction to ensure waterproof interiors even in a region notorious for its torrential downpours. The late Professor Barry Biermann, head of the School of Architecture at Natal University, remarked in admiration that this thatching represented a technological achievement comparable "to that of a Boeing 707 jet" (Frescura 1981:12).

Yet even these structures have been threatened by progress. The encroachment of cities on rural land has resulted in overpopulated rural "slums," which have stripped their neighborhoods bare of most natural resources, including thatching grass. As a result, many modern examples of Zulu housing now incorporate mud walls and iron roofs.

Indigenous architecture often reveals a climatic sensitivity which modern architecture could study with profit. Dotted along the southeastern coast of the country are the white-fronted houses of the Xhosa. Each has the same design: the door always faces northeast, and its surround is always painted with white lime. The back of the house is always daubed with dark clay. The white-painted front reflects the hot morning sunshine and keeps the building cool inside. The dark back walls slowly absorb the afternoon sun, retaining its warmth for the night, when the temperature falls. Equally sensitive to their climatic context are the Tsonga and Shangaan houses of Mpumalanga in the subtropical northeastern region. Here each house is surrounded by a wide verandah, whose wooden posts support a conical roof. This support means that the internal walls need not go up to roof level, allowing the free passage of breezes to cool the house.

But to a passing visitor, perhaps the greatest charm of vernacular architecture is the way it blends so naturally into its surroundings. As Frescura points out, vernacular architecture is by definition shaped by the materials at hand: grass, mud, wood, and stone. As a result, the dwellings have a sense of belonging in the landscape that those alien modern materials, concrete and steel, can never hope to match.



Above: Corrugated iron sheets are often used for make-do homes in squatter settlements. *Photo courtesy SATOUR*

Left: Rural, mud-based architecture has been transported to the squatter settlements springing up in urban areas. *Photo courtesy SATOUR*

And to those who dwell within, "rural homes have always been more than places of shelter," observes Becker. "Significance was built into their very substance.... Mud and other materials were chosen not just because they were available but because they could be integrated into ritual and social strategies. After a man died, for instance, his house, which was part of his essence, was destroyed.... [B]uilding systems and materials were so flexible that new houses could be erected quickly when people had to move" (Becker 1998:83). In their materials, forms, and construction techniques, rural dwellings today embody centuries of cultural, political, and social history.

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Melinda Silverman is an architect and urban designer. A lecturer in the history of architecture at the University of Witwatersrand, she is torn between a passion for Johannesburg's architectural past and its future urban form.

Fifth Annual Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert



Ethel Raim and Ralph Rinzler at the Newport Folk Festival, 1969.
Photos © Diana Davies

This concert is supported by the Ruth Mott Foundation and The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds.

A Guiding Spirit

An Interview with Ethel Raim and Martin Koenig

Ralph Rinzler (1934–94), founding director of the Smithsonian Folklife Festival, worked over the years with a host of gifted musicians and folklorists, doing fieldwork, issuing recordings, and presenting concerts. This concert series honors Ralph by highlighting his work and the work of his colleagues in conserving and extending traditional expressive culture.

This year's concert is curated by Ethel Raim.



Festival visitors join participants from Yugoslavia in a *kolo* at the 1973 Festival program Martin Koenig and Ethel Raim co-curated. Martin is in the circle at the right. *Photo by D. Sutherland, courtesy Smithsonian Institution*

From 1970 to 1974, Ethel Raim and Martin Koenig conducted fieldwork for the Smithsonian Festival as program directors for Balkan and Slavic cultures. Their research brought them to Ohio, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois, and New York, as well as Yugoslavia and Greece. For Ethel and Martin, Ralph Rinzler's reputation preceded their meeting him. Raised on Folkways records and as music editor of Sing Out! *Magazine, Ethel had heard about Ralph and his work with legendary artists Bill Monroe, the Balfa Brothers, and Doc Watson. Likewise, over ten years before undertaking in-depth field research for the Smithsonian, Martin remembers attending a folk festival at Swarthmore College in 1958 where he heard Ralph perform.*

This year's Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert features New York-based immigrant musicians with whom Ethel and Martin — and the Center for Traditional Music and Dance — have worked in recent years. This concert led Ethel and Martin to reflect on the profound influence Ralph had on their lives and their work.

Ethel Raim: In 1968, Ralph Rinzler invited me to the evaluation meeting at the Newport Folk Festival. I was raised in a Yiddish-speaking home in the Bronx, and the music and accents that I grew up with weren't represented at the festival. I was given $3,000 to bring other types of music to Newport and the Smithsonian. Back in New York, I hadn't the foggiest notion of how I would connect with these artists. So Ralph and I did field research together. Ralph was only two years older than I was, but it felt like he was much older. I was in awe of his experience. He was my mentor. I had spent years listening to and transcribing traditional music, but I didn't come with academic training in field research techniques. Neither did Ralph, but he was steeped in traditional music. Ralph gave me space to learn and even flop on my face. It was a hands-on experience in asking about tradition and music in people's lives.

We started out in lower Manhattan. We went into a Galician Spanish shop on 14th Street and found recordings of Antonio Moscera, a Galician bagpiper. Tony was a baker on Long Island, and we went to visit him. I believe we were the first non-Galicians who took any interest in him, his music, and his community. He performed at the Smithsonian in 1969.

We also went to Greek music shops on 8th Avenue and asked about local musicians. A man pulled out a newspaper and said, "Let's see what's happening this weekend." A Pontic Greek celebration was taking place at Crystal Palace, in Astoria,



Ethel Raim and Martin Koenig (on stage) observe activities at the Greek program they co-curated for the 1974 Festival.

Photo courtesy Smithsonian Institution

Queens. We walked in and almost walked out. Greek Americans playing guitar and amplified music. Ralph hated amplified music — not that I loved it — but I had an instinct to stick around. Sure enough, a little later, a single musician got up with a three-stringed *lyra* and started playing Pontic music. Everybody was dancing. I thought the floor would cave in. It was magical.

After that initial trip to Crystal Palace, I learned from Ralph that you need to identify a liaison in the community to let you know about celebrations — someone who will introduce you and vouch for you. These were people inside the community but with a certain perspective to share with someone on the outside.

As Ralph's responsibilities and commitments at the Smithsonian increased, his time in the field grew shorter. Ethel remembers what it was like to do fieldwork without Ralph as a collaborator.

ER: The questions to ask weren't difficult, but it was knowing when to back off and when to move forward. Part of research is bolstering people's self-esteem, and Ralph brought out the best in people. He had a way of becoming the people he was with. Ralph inspired people to look at the root forms of tradition. He was genuinely in love with tradition, and with people as the carriers and the practitioners — those lessons are almost more important than what questions you ask and how you draw out information.

From 1969 to 1974, Ethel undertook fieldwork for the Smithsonian Festival. Early on, she invited Martin Koenig to join her. Having founded the Balkan Arts Center in 1966, Martin had spent much of the following years documenting music and dance in Bulgaria, Romania, and Yugoslavia, but he had returned to the United States and was living in Philadelphia, ten minutes away from Ethel.

ER: In 1970, the order was "Do Ohio — all the ethnic traditions of Ohio." It was nuts. I called Martin and said, "We are featuring the state of Ohio. We can hardly do a fraction of the research that has to be done, but why don't you join me?" He agreed. We took a two-week trip to Ohio, and barely slept; those days were long and intense. In Cleveland, we came into a Serbian hall, and a guy came over immediately: "What are you doing here? What do you know about us?" I thought it was the end. This guy was tough. We tried to transmute into Ralph. We said, "We are

here from the National Museum." This didn't mean a thing. "What National Museum? The Smith-what? What do you know about our culture?" Martin said, "She sings your songs." The next minute the guy has me on stage with the local orchestra. I sang "*Niška Banja*" (a Serbian Gypsy song), and the man's jaw dropped. Sometimes you had to prove yourself to be allowed to ask your questions.

When field research brought them closer to D.C., Ethel and Martin invited Ralph to come along.

ER: In 1974 we worked in the Karpathian Greek community in Baltimore. When a *glendi* (community celebration) was going to happen, we'd call Ralph. He was always eager to widen his knowledge of tradition and communities. Yes, it was his work. Yes, it was his job, but it was his passion, so it came before anything. If he had dinner plans and something came up, he canceled. In Baltimore, Ralph saw tradition in a way that he had never seen it — a first-generation immigrant community: three musicians sitting on top of a table in a small community hall, playing *lyra*, *tsambouna* (bagpipe), and *laouto*.

Martin Koenig: This was music from the heart, and Ralph was bowled over. Music and dance had a role in the welfare of the Karpathian community, and Ralph was touched by the community and the people who made the music. He didn't have to be familiar with the form to understand it; Ralph had a great set of ears. Ethel and Ralph and I shared an orientation that put us in good sync together. The same music resonated for us. We'd hear a particular instrumentalist, and we'd all be moved. That trust made our work work. It was not necessarily the most agile singers, not necessarily the ones with the fastest fingers, but those who sang and played from the heart.

For Ethel and Martin, the context of Festival programs became increasingly important. You couldn't have the performance without the community from which it came, says Martin; without one, the other didn't work.

ER: Ralph was extremely receptive to our ideas about contextualizing traditions. We were learning about traditions and documenting repertoire, but also asking: how do we translate this to a context outside of the community that still preserves the integrity of the tradition and the people involved? For the Greek program, we imported the entire Olympian community from Baltimore to host the *glendi*. The Smithsonian didn't know why they needed to bus people down. "Why don't you just bring musicians?" Ralph supported us and went to bat for us. I am sure he took a lot of flak, but he knew it would be a coherent program.

After 1974, Ethel and Martin's focus shifted from the Smithsonian to their own work in New York City. The Balkan Arts Center was expanding and soon became the Ethnic Folk Arts Center. Ralph remained a close collaborator, however, but now it was Ralph who traveled to New York as a board member of the center. Martin's respect for Ralph only grew.

MK: He was a romantic, but had his feet on the ground. Margarita Mazo once said that Ralph could be like a tank when dealing with bureaucratic obstacles. He was an excellent strategist. He had romantic principles, encased in stately formality. He was a champion of traditional musics. It didn't matter what the odds were — if he believed in it, he went to great lengths.

Ethel maintains that her relationship with Ralph was critical to her work today.

ER: My direction was so formed by my association with Ralph. Ralph was a mover and a shaker, but my relationship with him was personal. Ralph was someone who got excited about traditional music and how it fit into people's lives — the extraordinary artistry of ordinary people. He had an incredible disposition and enormous optimism. He could find humor in all situations. If things didn't work out, you hardly ever knew it because he managed to turn adversity into something positive. It's easy to feel isolated doing this work, and it was wonderful to have a kindred spirit.

Compiled by Emily Botein

This was music from the heart, and Ralph was bowled over.

—Martin Koenig

Founder and former co-artistic and executive director with Ethel Raim of the Center for Traditional Music and Dance, Martin Koenig has recorded, filmed, and photographed music and dance in Balkan villages and in urban immigrant communities in the United States since 1966. He has taught Balkan dance for the past 30 years throughout the United States, Canada, and Western Europe.

Koenig retired from the center in 1994, and has directed the King County Performance Network, a touring program of contemporary dance in the Seattle, Washington, area, for the past two years.

As artistic and executive director of the Center for Traditional Music and Dance since 1994, Ethel Raim is a leading supporter of and advocate for community-based traditional arts and has conducted extensive field research in urban immigrant communities in the United States. Since the early 1960s, Raim has frequently performed traditional Balkan, Russian, and Yiddish vocal music, and was founder and musical director of the Pennywhistlers, a seven-woman vocal ensemble that recorded for Nonesuch and Elektra Records.

The Fifth Annual Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

Traditional Music for the Wedding

Martin Koenig founded the Balkan Arts Center in 1966; Ethel Raim joined in 1975. In 1981, Balkan Arts became the Ethnic Folk Arts Center (EFAC). In 1998, EFAC became the Center for Traditional Music and Dance. Although its name has changed, the center continues to strengthen traditional music and dance indigenous to ethnic communities in New York.

The 1999 Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert, featuring the Yuri Yunakov Ensemble and Ensemble Tereza, reflects the history of the center and its range of programs. Yuri Yunakov hails from Bulgaria — one of the first regions in which the Balkan Arts Center conducted research. Ensemble Tereza came to the attention of the center through the Soviet Jewish Community Cultural Initiative, a multiyear project begun in 1997 that encourages communities to participate in the conservation of their own heritage and artistic traditions.



Yuri Yunakov Ensemble.
Photo © Linda Vartoogian

Yuri Yunakov Ensemble
Carol Silverman

"Wedding music" has become the most widely listened-to form of folk/popular music in Bulgaria, Macedonia, and their diaspora communities. Most often played for dancing at life-cycle celebrations — as its name suggests — wedding music expands upon traditional melodies while displaying virtuosic technique, improvisation, fast speeds, daring key changes, and influences from jazz, rock, Turkish, and Indian musics, as well as Balkan village folk music. Yuri Yunakov was one of the founders of this energetic, contemporary musical form.

As professional instrumentalists, Roma (Gypsies) have played an important role in wedding music and other Balkan folk music. Yuri Yunakov was born of Turkish Rom ancestry in Haskovo, Bulgaria. He began playing the *kaval* (end-blown wooden flute) at age eight but switched to the *tapan* (two-headed drum) to accompany his father and brother at weddings. After a professional career in boxing, he took up the clarinet and joined his brother's wedding band. Yuri is a self-taught musician; he says, "The neighborhood was my school."

In the early 1980s, Yuri switched to saxophone and later joined Ivo Papazov's acclaimed band, Trakija. In Bulgaria, Yuri and Ivo achieved the fame enjoyed by rock stars in the West. Nevertheless, Yuri was repeatedly harassed, fined, and twice sent to prison, all for playing Rom and Turkish music, which were prohibited as part of the socialist government's program to eliminate "foreign" elements in Bulgarian music. Wedding music itself was suppressed by that government but nevertheless thrived in unofficial settings as a countercultural expression. In post-socialist Eastern Europe, Roma have become the targets of numerous violent mob attacks.

Since arriving in the United States in 1994, Yuri has become one of the most sought-after musicians in the Macedonian Rom community in New York City, which is now more than 7,000 strong and predominately Bronx-based. A

Bronx resident himself, Yuri is also in great demand among New York's Bulgarian and Turkish communities. The Yuri Yunakov Ensemble includes Yuri Yunakov (saxophone), accordionist Ivan Milev, Lauren Brody (synthesizer and vocals), Catherine Foster (clarinet and vocals), Jerry Kisslinger (*tapan*), and Carol Silverman (vocals).

Suggested Listening

Ivo Papazov. *Balkanology.* Hannibal Records.

Ivo Papazov and His Bulgarian Wedding Band. *Orpheus Ascending.* Hannibal/Ryko.

Yuri Yunakov. *Balada — Bulgarian Wedding Music.* Traditional Crossroads 4291.

Yuri Yunakov. *New Colors in Bulgarian Wedding Music.* Traditional Crossroads 4283.

Professor of cultural anthropology and folklore at the University of Oregon in Eugene, Carol Silverman has done field research in Bulgaria and has worked with Roma in Bulgaria, Macedonia, Hungary, and New York. She is completing a book on Balkan Rom culture and identity. She was a member of the vocal trio Ženska Pesna for over 15 years and now performs with various groups on the West Coast, including Slavej.

Ensemble Tereza

Michael Alpert

The recent arrival of over 4,000 Mountain Jews from the Eastern Caucasus, in particular Azerbaijan and Dagestan, marks an exciting development in New York's cultural scene. Speaking Djuhuri (from the Hebrew *Yehudi*, "Jewish"), an Iranian language related to Persian, many members of New York's Mountain Jewish community trace their ancestry to Kuba in northern Azerbaijan. Divided by a river and linked by bridges ("similar to Manhattan and Brooklyn," jokes one community member), Kuba's two distinct halves are home to Muslims and Jews, respectively. Over the past century, many Mountain Jews moved to Baku, capital of Azerbaijan, joining the city's educated class and becoming participants in commerce and trade. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1990, many Mountain Jews have emigrated, some 35,000 to Israel and approximately 7,000 to the United States. In New York, the community maintains an active traditional life, with a synagogue on Ocean Parkway in Brooklyn, where most of the community lives.

Ensemble Tereza's music features traditional south Caucasian instruments like the *tar* (a long-necked lute), the *daf* (a large tambourine), the *nakara* (a two-headed drum, played with sticks), the *zarb* (an hourglass-shaped metal drum), and the *garmon* (the diatonic accordion popular throughout the Caucasus), as



Ensemble Tereza. *Photo by Dan Rest*

well as more modern instruments like the clarinet, keyboard/synthesizer, and electric bass. Typical of their multiethnic milieu, Mountain Jewish singers like Tereza Elizarova sing in a variety of languages including Djuhuri, Azeri, Turkish, Persian, Hebrew, and Arabic.

Ensemble Tereza consists of five musicians from Brooklyn: Tereza Elizarova (vocals and accordion); her nephew, Ruslan Agababayev (keyboard, *garmon*); her two brothers, Robson Yefraimov (guitar) and Mark Elizarov (percussion); Alex Hafizov (clarinet); Rashad Mamedov (*garmon*); and dancers Salamon Ryvinov and Victoria Minayev. The Elizarov and Yefraimov families are from Baku and come from a long line of musicians, in particular of women performers. Elizarova's grandmother was one of the first Mountain Jewish women to play the accordion publicly. When Elizarova sings at weddings in New York, frequently the bridal family knows her family and its musical reputation from Azerbaijan. Her father (accordionist Khanuko Elizarov) may well have performed at the wedding of the parents of the bride or groom, and her grandmother, also an accordionist, at the wedding of the grandparents.

Typical of their multiethnic milieu, Mountain Jewish singers like Tereza Elizarova sing in a variety of languages....

Michael Alpert is a leading expert in Eastern European Jewish music and dance. Adept in 20 languages, Alpert has extensive experience programming and presenting Jewish culture, and has collaborated with the Center for Traditional Music and Dance for more than 16 years. Renowned as a Yiddish singer, Alpert plays violin, accordion, and drum, and performs internationally with the new Jewish music ensemble, Brave Old World.

General Festival Information

Festival Participants 82
Festival Partners, Sponsors, Contributors, and Donors 86
Festival Staff 90
Associated Conferences and Seminars 92
Educational Offerings 93
Evening Programs Calendar 94
Special Concerts and Events 95
Recent Books about the Festival and Smithsonian Folkways 96
Lily Spandorf Festival Collection 97
Smithsonian Folkways Recordings 98

Festival Participants

New Hampshire

Musical Traditions

Franco-American Music

Elwin "Shorty" Boulet, bones player; Whitefield
Alan Coté, *soirée* singer; Auburn
Fabienne Coté, *soirée* singer/accordionist; Londonderry
Rick Coté, *soirée* singer; Londonderry
Rejeanne Letourneau, *soirée* singer; Rochester
Gary Pomerleau, fiddler; Rochester
Joe Pomerleau, fiddler; Rochester
Henry Riendeau, fiddler; Berlin
Larry Riendeau, fiddler; Berlin
Jeanne Trepanier, *soirée* singer; Rochester

Contra Dance Music

OLD NEW ENGLAND
Bob McQuillen, pianist; Peterborough
Jane Orzechowski, fiddler; Newport
Deanna Stiles, flautist; Deerfield

Mary DesRosiers, contra dance caller; Harrisville
Rodney Miller, fiddler; Antrim
David Millstone, contra dance caller; Lebanon
Sylvia Miskoe, accordionist; Concord
Francis Orzechowski, pianist; Newport
David Surette, guitarist; Portsmouth
Jordan Tirrell-Wysocki, fiddler; Canterbury
Harvey Tolman, fiddler; Nelson
Timm Triplett, pianist; Newmarket
Steve Zakon-Anderson, contra dance caller; Hancock
William Zecker, fiddler/guitarist/pianist; Durham

New England Barn Dance Fiddling & Calling

TWO FIDDLES
Dudley Laufman, fiddler/caller; Canterbury
Jacqueline Laufman, fiddler; Canterbury

Singing Squares

David Bradley, bassist; Woodstock
Lester Bradley, guitarist/caller; Thornton

Scottish Piping & Dance

NEW HAMPSHIRE SCHOOL FOR SCOTTISH ARTS — MANCHESTER
Megan Marsh, step dancer
Maggie Meffen, step dancer
Gordon Webster, bagpiper
Lezlie Patterson Webster, bagpiper

Irish Music & Dance

Sarah Bauhan, flautist; Dublin
Regina Delaney, harpist/vocals/step and *ceili* dancer; Exeter
Michael Serpa, *bodhran*/whistle player; Ossipee
Jake Stewart, fiddler; Bow

Polish Music & Dance

Daniel Blajda, fiddler; Manchester
Michael Oliszczak, fiddler; Manchester
Gary Sredzienski, accordionist; Greenland

Klezmer Music

THE RAYMOND ST. KLEZMER BAND
Sandra Dickens, vocals; Nashua
Nelson Frisselle, percussionist; Manchester
Alan Green, clarinetist/vocals; Nashua
Ruth Weiner Harris, accordionist; Hollis
Alan Karlsberg, clarinetist/saxophonist; Nashua
Frederick Malkin, pianist/vocals; Londonderry
Bruce Smith, bassist; Merrimack

African-American Gospel & Spirituals

Wilmerlee Findlay, pianist/vocals; Amherst
Minister Lydia Mann, vocals; Manchester
Minister Olga Times, vocals; Nashua

Hispanic Music

Bernardo Guzman, guitarist/vocals; Somersworth
Maria Guzman, vocals; Somersworth

Home, Town & Community

Comfort in the Home

Karen Cook, spinner; Grantham
Vivian Eastman, quilter; Glenn
Barbara Fisher, rug braider; Mt. Sunapee
Dona Larsen, Norwegian knitter; Berlin
Dorothy Towle, quilter/rug hooker; Intervale
Sandra Yacek, wreath maker; Milan
Wayne Yacek, gardener/tool-maker; Milan

Images of Community

Andre Belanger, sign maker; Berlin
Jairo Gil, Colombian *casa* wood-carver; Manchester
Sara Glines, doll maker; Randolph

Our Shared Border — Franco-American Traditions

Gerard Brunelle, woodcarver; Laconia
Albert Hamel, genealogist; Chester

Crafts of Worship & Celebration

Marjorie "Moocho" Salomon, *tallitot* weaver; Bethlehem
Galina Tregubov, Russian Orthodox icon embroiderer; Claremont
Kung Tai Tsay, Chinese knot tier; Nashua

Community Voice — Political Traditions in New Hampshire

Georgi Hippauf; Nashua
Donna Soucy; Manchester

Hearth & Home — Foodways Traditions

Chrysanthe Nagios, Greek cook; Bedford
Rebecca Parker, Yankee cook; Randolph
Helen Pervanas, Greek cook; Bedford
Estelle Gamache Ross, Franco-American cook; Allenstown

Ingenuity & Enterprise

League of New Hampshire Craftsmen

Fred Dolan, decoy carver; Center Barnstead
Anne Winterling, rug hooker; Concord

Craft Guilds

Omar Clairmont, furniture maker; Gilmanton
David Lamb, furniture maker; Canterbury
Russell Pope, blacksmith; Newmarket
Jonathan Siegel, furniture maker; Franklin

Hearts to God, Hands to Work — Shaker Crafts in New Hampshire

Steve Allman, oval box maker; Canterbury
Barbara Beeler, oval box maker; Contoocook
Norma Badger George, poplarware maker; Concord
Rob Roy Robb, weaver; Laconia

Business & Community

Arthur Anderson, loom maker – Harrisville Designs; Marlow
Terry Lontine, cooper – Spaulding & Frost; Newton
Polly Pinkham, firefighting suit maker – Globe Firefighting Suits; Northwood
Rob Roy Robb, weaver; Laconia

Business & Family

Betty Blanchard, chair reseater; Concord
Peter Blanchard, chair reseater; Concord
Bob Taylor, welder; Alstead
Newt Washburn, ash basket maker; Bethlehem

Festival Participants

Innovation & Invention

Bill Latva, precision machinist; Sunapee
Charles Lawrence, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard; Stratham
E.D. Miller, Portsmouth Naval Shipyard; Stratham
Dave Packard, precision machinist; Hillsboro
Adam Taylor, precision machinist; Claremont
Frank E. Wiggins, precision machinist; Guild

Seasonal Work & Recreation

Weather

Barry Keim, Climate Change Research Center, University of New Hampshire; Durham
Greg Zielinski, Glacier Research Group, University of New Hampshire; Durham

Spring

Tim Levesque, Appalachian Mountain Club; Jackson
Peter Limmer III, hiking-boot maker; Intervale
Clare Long, Appalachian Mountain Club; Glen
Chris Thayer, Appalachian Mountain Club; Jackson

Summer Camp

Lynn Garland, children's activities; Brentwood
Lisa Kelly, children's activities; Westmoreland

Fall

Mark Favorite, fly tier; Rochester
Fred Kretchman, rod maker; Nashua
David Price, gun builder; Contoocook
Jay Trayner, canoe builder; Warner

Winter

Scott Barthold, snow-making technology – Sno.matic Controls and Engineering, Inc.; Lebanon
Paul Doherty, snowmobiler; Gorham
Walter Elander, ski resort design – sno.engineering; Littleton
Ken Hammerle, ski resort design – sno.engineering; Littleton
George Lemerise, ski search and rescuer – Attitash Bear Peak; Jackson
Joel Nordholm, dog-sled maker; Tilton
Matthew Purcell, snow-making technology – Sno.matic Controls and Engineering, Inc.; Lebanon
Henri Vallaincourt, snowshoe maker; Greenville
Bruno Vallieres, ski-slope groomer – Attitash Bear Peak; North Conway

Farm, Forest, Mountain & Sea

Farming

Richard Dionne, bee keeper; Hudson
Mary Ellen Hutchinson, maple sugaring/apple orchards; Canterbury
Roy Hutchinson, maple sugaring/apple orchards; Canterbury
Betty Moulton, maple sugaring/dairy farmer; New Hampton
Robert Moulton, maple sugaring/dairy farmer; New Hampton
Peter Wagner, apple grower; Hampton

Skills & Crafts of Work Animals

Bob Boynton, yoke maker; Dunbarton
Hugh Fifield, draft horse worker/storyteller; Canterbury
Bob Graves, oxen teamster/dairy farmer; Walpole
David Kennard, sheepdog trainer; Marlborough
Cliff McGinnis, draft horse worker/veterinary medicine; Pembroke
Andy Westover, oxen teamster/dairy farmer; Walpole

Forest & Lumber Traditions

Tom Chrisenton, tree farm/forestry management; Lyndeborough
Virginia Chrisenton, tree farm/forestry management; Lyndeborough
Barry Kelley, sawmill management; Berlin
Stan Knowles, tree farm inspector; North Hampton

The Arts of Historic Restoration

David Adams, historic buildings conservationist; Portsmouth
Arnold Graton, Jr., covered bridge conservationist; Concord
Arnold Graton, Sr., covered bridge conservationist; Ashland
Stephen Roy, historic buildings conservationist; Portsmouth

Timber Framing

Tedd Benson, timber framer; Alstead
Joel McCarty, timber framer; Alstead

Granite & Stone

Doug Faxon, stone wall builder; Walpole
Kevin Fife, stone wall builder; Northfield
Hans Kaufhold, monument carver; Peterborough

Maritime Traditions

Jim Antanavich, Sr., gill net maker; Seabrook
Trudy Antanavich, gill net maker; Seabrook
Jeffrey Fogman, boat builder; Barrington
Nate Hanscom, lobster fisherman; Rye
Mike Kozlowski, lobster fisherman; Rye
Arthur Splaine, lobster fisherman; Rye
Carl Widen, lobster fisherman; Rye

South Africa

Craft Traditions

Fai-Qah Abrahams, textiles; Western Cape
Nofanelekile Batayi, beadworker; Eastern Cape
Eunice Cele, beadworker; KwaZulu-Natal
Joao Wenner Dikuanga, ostrich egg engraver; Northern Cape
Susanna du Preez, copper and wire worker; Free State
Nosipho Fengwena, textiles; Western Cape
Themba Gule, sculptor; Mpumalanga
Nontsikelelo Caroline Javu, textiles; Western Cape
S. W. Khamokha, tapestry; Free State
Zibuyale Sylvina Langa, beadworker; KwaZulu-Natal
Leepile James Lekaba, quilter; North West
Albertina Thembekile Majola, beadworker; KwaZulu-Natal
Eslina Zodwa Maphumulo, weaver; KwaZulu-Natal
Leticia Phumza Maqulo, textiles; Western Cape
Dumisile Phumulile Mathe, toy maker; KwaZulu-Natal
Rebecca Mathibe, ceramics; Northern Province
Zandile Patience Mayekiso, textiles; Western Cape
Absalom Mazibuko, sculptor; Mpumalanga
Martha Mologadi Metlae, embroiderer; North West
Eric Mfeketho, leatherworker; Eastern Cape
Andre Stavu Misheshe, tinworker; Northern Cape
Fatty Alfred Mnguni, tapestry; Free State
Conie Sydney Mokwena, quilter; North West
Raseetsi Alice Molaba, grass weaver; Free State
Mpatuoa Violet Moloi, grass weaver; Free State
Henry Gqetha Msholo, sculptor; KwaZulu-Natal
Dikuwa Erna Mushinga, tinworker; Northern Cape

Festival Participants

Nobongile F. Mzaku, beadworker; Eastern Cape
Nester Landeleni Nala, ceramics; KwaZulu-Natal
Dorcas Kidibone Ngobeni, embroiderer; North West
Emma Nguni, beadworker; Mpumalanga
Celani Hlabisa Nojiyeza, beadworker; KwaZulu-Natal
Anna Ntuli, beadworker; Mpumalanga
Beauty Bothembile Nxgongo, weaver; KwaZulu-Natal
Enos Phalanndwa, woodcarver; Northern Province
Moses Seleko, toy maker/wire worker; Gauteng
Thomas Shuma, gold jeweler; Gauteng
Philemon Songweni, sculptor; KwaZulu-Natal

Music and Dance Traditions

PHAMBILI MARIMBA — AFRICAN MARIMBA
Mandla Brian Huna, tenor marimba player; Western Cape
Themba William Huna, African drummer; Western Cape
Jongisizwe Christopher Monatsi, bass marimba player; Western Cape
Luzuko Dennis Nqikashe, percussionist; Western Cape
Bongani Sydwell Sotshononda, soprano marimba player; Western Cape

SHIVULANI — TSONGA TRADITIONAL DANCE GROUP
Evans Chauke, drummer/vocals; Northern Province
Shadrack Sikheto Mabasa, drummer/vocals; Northern Province
Cathrine Mahlawule, drummer/dancer/vocals; Northern Province
Hlupheka Steven Mahlawule, drummer; Northern Province
Phineas Mahlawule, bass drummer/dancer/vocals; Northern Province
Sayina Mahlawule, drummer/dancer/vocals; Northern Province
Solias Mahlawule, dancer/vocals; Northern Province
Hamilton Mayimele, drummer/dancer/vocals; Northern Province
Florah Miyambo, drummer/dancer/vocals; Northern Province

SURIALANGA DANCE COMPANY — ZULU-INDIAN FUSION
Subbalakshmi Deenadeyalan Govender, dancer; KwaZulu-Natal
Mthokozisi Stembiso Hlela, drummer/dancer; KwaZulu-Natal
Ntando Eugene Mhlongo, drummer/dancer; KwaZulu-Natal
Siyabonga Pascal Mkhombe, drummer/dancer; KwaZulu-Natal
Shalini Moodley, dancer; KwaZulu-Natal
Adhika Naidoo, dancer; KwaZulu-Natal
Sibusiso Innocent Ndebele, drummer/dancer; KwaZulu-Natal
Ruendhrie Pather, dancer; KwaZulu-Natal

TEEMAYO TRADITIONAL DANCE GROUP — TSWANA TRADITIONS
Magaoropelwe Angelina Chweu, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Alcyma Kgotso Maile, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Patrick Kgosietsile Mogoiwa, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Dennis James Mogorosi, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Dipuo Sylvia Mosimanyana, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Lerato Moira Mothelesi, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Thabiso Eugene Mothelesi, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Horatius Vusumze Phantshwa, drummer/dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Mirriam Barbara Pietersen, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Gilbert Bothata Pisane, drummer/dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Elizabeth Setumisho, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape
Elliot Mzimkhulu Xesi, dancer/vocals; Northern Cape

Oral/Play Traditions

Nomsa Mdlalose, storyteller; Gauteng
Sandile Mtshiki, traditional games; Gauteng

Foodways Traditions (Grandma's Kitchen)

Anna Catharina Fourie; Gauteng
Masindi Mudau; Northern Province
Joyce Phoqela; Eastern Cape
Faldela Williams; Western Cape
Monica Zwane; Mpumalanga

Architecture/ Painting Traditions

Andry Kashivi, muralist; Northern Cape
Pule Edward Khunou, mixed medium; North West
Mavis Makhubu, muralist; Free State
Joseph Mkhanyiselwa Manana, muralist; KwaZulu-Natal
Steven Maqashela, muralist; Gauteng
Bernardo Rumao, muralist; Northern Cape
Moseketsi Emily Tlhapi, muralist; Free State
Monica Zwane, traditional architecture; Mpumalanga

Romania

Music and Dance Traditions

FOLK ENSEMBLE FROM SOPORU DE CÂMPIE AND FRATA, CLUJ
Alexandru Şandorică Ciurcui, violinist
Maria Ciurcui, dancer
Romulus Ciurcui, violinist
Alexandru Gheti, *braci* (viola) player
Iuliu Gheti, contrabassist
Dumitru Moldovan, dancer/vocals
Vasile Soporan, dancer/vocals
Florineta Ilincuţa Trif, dancer

COSÂNZEANA — FOLK ENSEMBLE FROM ORĂŞTIOARA DE JOS, HUNEDOARA
Emilia-Cornelia Boloţ, vocals/dancer
Adrian Ioan Bruzan, vocals/dancer
Alina-Valeria Bruzan, vocals/dancer
Eugen-Ioan Bruzan, leader/dancer/vocals
Valeria Bruzan, vocals/dancer
Camelia-Gabriela Bura, dancer/vocals
Dafin Georgescu, vocals/dancer
Sorin-Ioan Georgescu, vocals/dancer
Dorel Josin Sibişan, *braci* (viola) player
Valentin-Florin Ioan Stăncioi, contrabassist
Ioan (Neleţu) Urs I, violinist
Ioan Urs II, violinist

VĂLĂRETUL — FOLK ENSEMBLE FROM VOINEŞTI, VASLUI
Sorinel Bălan, clarinetist
Benone Gherman, trumpet player
Ion Gherman, trumpet player
Costel Miron, dancer (*harap*)
Andrei-Ştefan Novac, dancer (New Year/pony)
Valeriu Novac, leader/dancer (bear tamer)
Ionel-Romeo Obreja, dancer (old woman)
Maricel Petreanu, drummer
Constantin Plăcintă, dancer (bear)
Eugen Silav, dancer (old man)
Dănuţu Stângaciu, baritone horn player
Ion Stoican, bassist
Constantin Zota, dancer (goat/pony)

Festival Participants

Căluşul — Folk Ensemble from Optaşi, Olt
Ilie Constantin, *ţambal* (hammered dulcimer) player
Marin Florea, dancer
George Slavi Ionescu, dancer
Vasile Pîrciu, dancer
Valerică Pîrcălăboiu, dancer
Marin Scarlat, dancer
Florea Turuianu, leader/dancer
Narcis-Daniel Turuianu, dancer
Radu Ţiţirigă, violinist

Voievozii — Folk Ensemble from Bogdan-Vodă, Maramureş
Ioan Buftea, dancer/flute/whistle player
Maria Buftea, dancer
Ion Coman, dancer
Irina Coman, dancer
Ioan Deac, dancer
Ion Ghereben, drummer/*zongora* (guitar) player
Ioan Mariş, dancer/vocals
Irina Mariş, dancer/vocals
Petru Orza, violinist
Doina Simon, dancer/vocals
Vasile Simon, drummer/dancer

Ţara Oaşului — Folk Ensemble from Bixad, Maramureş
Nicolae Dorlea, *zongora* (guitar) player/vocals
Cristina Irina Finta, dancer/*ţâpuritoare* (vocals)
Maria Goje, dancer/*ţâpuritoare* (vocals)
Nicolae Honca, *cetera* (violin) player
Irina Oroş, dancer/*ţâpuritoare* (vocals)
Iacob Pop, leader/dancer/vocals
Grigore Tat, *cetera* (violin) player/vocals
Ioan Tătar, dancer/vocals/*zongora* (guitar) player
Gheorghe Tope, dancer/vocals/*trâmbiţa* (alphorn) player

Trio Pandelescu — Urban Folk Group from Bucharest
Leonard Botea, double bass player
Jan Mocanu, accordionist/vocals
Dumitru Pandelescu, *ţambal* (hammered dulcimer) player

Nightlosers — Urban Ethno-Pop Group from Cluj-Napoca
Octavian Andreescu, bass guitarist
Sorin Cimpean, drummer
Geza Grunzo, keyboard player
Hanno Hoefer, guitar/harmonica player/vocals
Jimi Laco, guitar player/violinist
Eugen Pandrea, *frunza* (leaf) player
Aladar Pusztai, *ţambal* (hammered dulcimer) player

Dumitru Fărcaş, *taragot* (special clarinet) player; Cluj
Grigore Leşe, *doinitor* (vocals); Cluj
Dorel Rohian, accordionist; Cluj
Anuţa Tite, *doinitoare* (vocals); Maramureş
Nicolae Voiculeţ, panpipe player; Prahova

Craft Traditions

Ceramics

Florin Colibaba, potter; Rădăuţi, Suceava
Neculai Diaconu, clay figurine maker; Codlea, Braşov
Gheorghe Iorga, potter; Horezu, Vâlcea
Maria Iorga, potter; Horezu, Vâlcea
Augustin Pall, potter; Corund, Harghita
Mihai Truşcă, potter; Balş, Olt

Weaving

Rodica Maria Ispas, weaver; Buzău
Margareta Nagy, corn-husk artisan; Chendu Mare, Mureş
Cristina Delciza Nicolau, weaver/eggs and beads; Buzău
Adela Petre, weaver/spinner; Buzău
Alice Torella Kosza Szegedi, reed dolls and mask artisan; Câmpeniţa, Mureş

Woodcarving

Pavel Caba; Nereju, Vrâncea
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Ornament and Mask Making

Ion Albu, masks and dolls; Roman
Mircea Lac, ornaments/woodcuts; Deva
Sabina Costinela Medrea, ornaments; Deva
Lucia Todoran, ornaments/beaded textiles; Bistriţa

Egg Decorating

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Filofteia Drajmici; Vatra Moldoviţei, Suceava

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Rodica Bulboacă, Suceava
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Gavrilă Hotico I; Maramureş
Gavrilă Hotico II; Maramureş
Gavrilă Hotico III; Maramureş
Petru Ioan Pop; Maramureş

Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

Martin Koenig, master of ceremonies/dance instructor; Vashon Island, WA
Ethel Raim, master of ceremonies; New York, NY

Ensemble Tereza
Ruslan Agababayev, keyboard/*garmon* player; Brooklyn, NY
Mark Elizarov, percussionist; Brooklyn, NY
Tereza Elizarova, vocals/accordionist; Brooklyn, NY
Alex Hafizov, clarinetist; Brooklyn, NY
Rashad Mamedov, *garmon* player; Brooklyn, NY
Victoria Minayev, dancer; Brooklyn, NY
Salamon Ryvinov, dancer; Brooklyn, NY
Robson Yefraimov, guitarist; Brooklyn, NY

Yuri Yunakov Ensemble
Lauren Brody, synthesizer player/vocals; New York, NY
Catherine Foster, clarinetist/trumpet player/vocals; New York, NY
Jerry Kisslinger, *tapan* (drum) player; New York, NY
Ivan Milev, accordionist; New York, NY
Carol Silverman, vocals; Eugene, OR
Yuri Yunakov, band leader/saxophonist; New York, NY

Conjunto Dance Party

David Champion, presenter; Narciso Martínez Cultural Arts Center, San Benito, TX

Los Hermanos Layton
Gilbert González, electric bass player; Elsa, TX
Norfilia Layton González, vocals; Elsa, TX
Antonio V. Layton, guitar/*bajo sexto* player/vocals; Edinburg, TX
Benigno Layton, accordionist; Elsa, TX
René Layton, drummer; Edinburg, TX

Gilberto Pérez y Sus Compadres
Cande Aguilar, Sr., electric bass player/vocals; Brownsville, TX
Gilberto Pérez, Jr., *bajo sexto* player/vocals; Mercedes, TX
Gilberto Pérez, Sr., accordionist/vocals; Mercedes, TX
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A Global Assessment of the 1989 UNESCO Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore: Local Empowerment and International Cooperation
June 27–30, 1999

Smithsonian Institution
Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage

With support from:
Cultural Affairs Department, Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs; U.S. Department of State; Rockefeller Foundation; Smithsonian Institution Office of International Relations; National Endowment for the Arts

The Smithsonian Institution's Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage hosts a conference to review the UNESCO "Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore" issued a decade ago. The conference will identify and analyze general trends and challenges faced by producers of traditional culture and folklore, and propose some approaches to the general problems that can be addressed through international cooperation.

This conference will provide an opportunity to review the results of eight regional seminars, organized by the Intangible Heritage Division of UNESCO, which have discussed the implementation of the 1989 resolution in their regions. It will also present an opportunity to examine the importance of traditional culture in local, regional, and international contexts, and the importance of supporting community practitioners with local knowledge as a key to cultural, social, and economic development. Conference participants will include the representatives from the eight UNESCO regions as well as specialists in cultural and intellectual property, folklore and related fields, representatives of NGOs, and community practitioners and leaders whose experience can offer direction and guidance.

Conference proceedings will be available by contacting UNESCO@folklife.si.edu. Please indicate "Conference Proceedings" in the subject line.

Festival Teacher's Seminar

As in previous years, the Center will offer a seminar for teachers during the Festival. "Bringing Folklife into the Classroom" is cosponsored by the Smithsonian Office of Education. This popular seminar, now in its fifth year, attracts Washington-area teachers who obtain hands-on experience in the folklorist's methods of learning about culture: observing, documenting, interviewing, and interpreting. Instructors for the course, which meets June 23–27, are Drs. Diana Baird N'Diaye and Marjorie Hunt of the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage.

Celebrate New Hampshire Visiting Teacher Fellows

Teachers from throughout New Hampshire will also be attending the Festival to conduct "living research" with participants from their home state. In preparation for developing educational materials for their students, the 30 Celebrate New Hampshire Fellows will attend three days of in-service training on the process of researching living traditions. They will be provided with materials and tools to observe, interact with, and document Festival participants and will share their training and research with other teachers back in New Hampshire through in-service workshops and a Web site. (This is a Celebrate New Hampshire project in partnership with the University of New Hampshire's New England Folklife Institute, New Hampshire Public Television, and the New Hampshire State Council on the Arts. The project is funded by the School to Work Program of the New Hampshire Department of Education).



Participants at the 1997 Festival Teacher's Seminar meet and talk.
Photo by Kenn Shrader

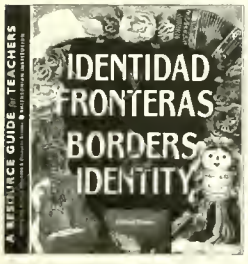
Current Educational Offerings from the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage



Workers at the White House
This half-hour video documentary features the occupational folklife and oral histories of a broad range of White House workers — butlers, maids, doormen, chefs, plumbers, and others. Through their memories, skills, and values, these workers help us to understand the White House in human terms — as a home and a workplace, a public building and a national symbol. A 24-page educational booklet accompanies the video. Produced in cooperation with the White House Historical Association and the National Archives, copyright 1994. Grades 6–12. $24.95. Catalog #SFW48003



Wisconsin Powwow / Naamikaaged: Dancer for the People
This two-video set shows how powwows incorporate historical traditions and modern innovations. The first video is a general treatment of the powwow as it is held by Ojibwe people in northern Wisconsin. The second follows a young Ojibwe, Richard LaFernier, as he dresses and paints himself for a powwow, honors his ancestors, and sings at powwows in northern Wisconsin. A 40-page accompanying booklet includes historical background, a transcription of the soundtrack, classroom questions, and suggestions for further reading and listening. Published 1996. Grades 6–12. $34.95. Catalog #SFW48004



Borders and Identity
This bilingual kit explores the complex notion of identity along the United States/Mexico border. In four segments — on history, belief, expressive arts, and occupational traditions — students learn from the stories of border residents. This kit includes a four-part video, a poster-size cultural map, and a teacher/student guide with exercises for classroom use. Published 1996. Grades 6–12. $55.00 kit; $10 cultural map separately. Catalog #SFW90010



Learning About Folklife: The U.S. Virgin Islands & Senegal
This kit concentrates on the rich folklife of the U.S. Virgin Islands and Senegal through a focus on foodways, music and storytelling, and celebrations. The kit contains a four-part video cassette, two audio cassettes, and a teacher's guide with maps, photographs, and line illustrations. Published 1992. Grades 6–12. $45.00. Catalog #SFW90012



Land and Native American Cultures
This kit introduces students to the use of land in Native American communities through three case studies: the Hopi of Arizona; the Tlingit, Haida, and Tsimshian of Alaska; and the Aymara and Quechua of Bolivia and Peru. Units address subsistence, crafts, mythology, and ritual. The kit includes an extensive teacher/student guide with narrative, photographs, resource listing, and activity questions. A slide set accompanies the guide. Published 1997. Grades 9–12. $21.00. Catalog #SFW90011

To order, write, fax, or call:

Smithsonian Folkways Mail Order
955 L'Enfant Plaza, SW, Suite 7300, Washington, DC 20560-0953
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All prices include shipping and handling.

Visit the Smithsonian Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage on the Web at <http://www.si.edu/folklife>.

Evening Programs Calendar

Wednesday, June 23

South African Dance Party at the Romanian Music & Dance Hall, 5:30–7:00 p.m. Dance to the rhythm of bongo drums, marimba, and *mbiras*, as the Phambili Marimba Band from Cape Town performs traditional music and dance.

Romanian Concert at the Romanian Music & Dance Hall, 7:00–9:00 p.m. Featuring urban, folk, and Gypsy music, this concert presents a variety of Romanian musical genres.

Thursday, June 24

Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert: "Traditional Music for the Wedding" at the New Hampshire Town Hall Music & Dance Stage (in case of rain, Baird Auditorium, National Museum of Natural History), 5:30– 9:00 p.m. This year's fifth annual Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert, honoring the achievements of the long-time Festival director, will feature traditional wedding music from the Balkan countries of Bulgaria and the Republic of Macedonia and the Eastern Caucasus of the former Soviet Union. The Yuri Yunakov Ensemble expands upon traditional Balkan village melodies to bring an eclectic mix of jazz, rock, Turkish, and Indian music to listeners. They are joined by the New York-based Ensemble Tereza, who skillfully fuse their traditional south Caucasian instruments with modern ones. Both groups illustrate the popular appeal that "wedding music" has in diaspora communities. This concert is supported by The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds and the Ruth Mott Foundation.

Friday, June 25

New Hampshire Dance Party at the South African *Luvhandeni* ("Virtuoso") Stage, 5:30–7:00 p.m., with klezmer music.

South African Concert at the South African *Luvhandeni* ("Virtuoso") Stage, 7:00–9:00 p.m. Presented in Tswana, Zulu, Xhosa, and Sotho languages, the Teemayo Traditional Dance Group addresses traditional and contemporary issues in theatrical form.

Saturday, June 26

Romanian-American Night at the Romanian Music & Dance Hall, 5:00–9:00 p.m. Join in as Romanian Americans gather on the National Mall to celebrate their heritage and traditions. Romanian Americans and the general public are invited to participate in this festive evening, which features performances by Romanian musicians and dancers. Orient Express, an urban ethno-pop jazz fusion band, also performs.

Sunday, June 27

Old Home Day in the New Hampshire Program Area; Dance Party begins at 5:30 p.m. Celebrate that "down-home feeling," as we provide an all-day event filled with traditional community activities from New Hampshire. Included will be the Temple Community Marching Band, a fireman's muster, old-fashioned children's games, and cooking demonstrations. Following these events will be an evening contra and square dance party.

Wednesday, June 30

New Hampshire Dance Party at the South African *Luvhandeni* ("Virtuoso") Stage, 5:30–7:00 p.m. Contra, square, and Irish *ceili* dancing.

Stellenbosch Libertas Choir at the South African *Luvhandeni* ("Virtuoso") Stage, 7:00–9:00 p.m. In the spirit of the Rainbow Nation, South Africa's multiracial Libertas Choir makes a special appearance at the Folklife Festival.

Thursday, July 1

South African Dance Party at the Romanian Music & Dance Hall, 5:30–7:00 p.m. Marimba and *mbira* music by the Phambili Marimba Band.

Fiddle Combination with Fiddlers from New Hampshire and Romania at the Romanian Music & Dance Hall, 7:00–9:00 p.m. Fiddlers from New Hampshire and Romania come together to demonstrate the shared customs that exist amid the diversity of this year's Festival.

Friday, July 2

Conjunto Dance Party at the South African *Luvhandeni* ("Virtuoso") Stage (in case of rain, Baird Auditorium, National Museum of Natural History), 5:30–9:00 p.m. In collaboration with the National Museum of American History's *ENCUENTROS* program, this dance party brings Mexican-American dance music to a wider audience from its South Texas home, where it is played at weddings, female coming-of-age ceremonies, graduation dances, and funerals. The dance party features Los Hermanos Layton and Gilberto Pérez y Sus Compadres. It also marks the release of the new Smithsonian Folkways recording, *Taquachito Nights: Conjunto Music from South Texas*, a CD formed out of a partnership between the Smithsonian and the Narciso Martínez Cultural Arts Center.

Saturday, July 3

Franco-American Day in the New Hampshire Program Area, 5:30–9:00 p.m. To feature this community's cultural presence in New Hampshire, we are hosting a "Franco-American Day" to recognize the heritage and traditions of New Hampshire's residents who, beginning in the 1800s, immigrated from Québec. A Franco *soirée* and dance party are planned.

Sunday, July 4

New Hampshire Dance Party at the New Hampshire Town Hall Music & Dance Stage, 5:30–7 p.m. Contra and square dancing.

Special Concerts and Events

Fifth Annual Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

Traditional Music for the Wedding

Thursday, June 24, 5:30 – 9:00 p.m.
New Hampshire Town Hall
Music & Dance Stage*

Masters of Ceremonies — Martin Koenig and Ethel Raim

Ensemble Tereza

Featuring Ruslan Agababayev, Mark Elizarov, Tereza Elizarova, Alex Hafizov, Rashad Mamedov, Victoria Minayev, Salamon Ryvinov, Robson Yefraimov

Yuri Yunakov Ensemble

Featuring Lauren Brody, Catherine Foster, Jerry Kisslinger, Ivan Milev, Carol Silverman, Yuri Yunakov

This concert is made possible with support from The Recording Industries Music Performance Trust Funds and the Ruth Mott Foundation.

Orient Express

Romanian Jazz Fusion
Friday, June 25, Noon
Carmichael Auditorium, National Museum of American History

Featuring Octavian Andreescu, Mario Florescu, Hanno Hoefer, Zoltan Hollandus, Mihai Iordache, Jimi Laco, Edi Neumann, Hari Tavitian

Old New England

Thursday, July 1, 6:00–7:00 p.m.
Millennium Stage
Kennedy Center
for the Performing Arts

Featuring Bob McQuillen, Jane Orzechowski, Deanna Stiles



Conjunto Dance Party

Friday, July 2, 5:30–9:00 p.m.
South African *Luvhandeni* Stage*

Los Hermanos Layton

Featuring Gilbert González, Norfilia Layton González, Antonio V. Layton, Benigno Layton, René Layton

Gilberto Pérez y Sus Compadres

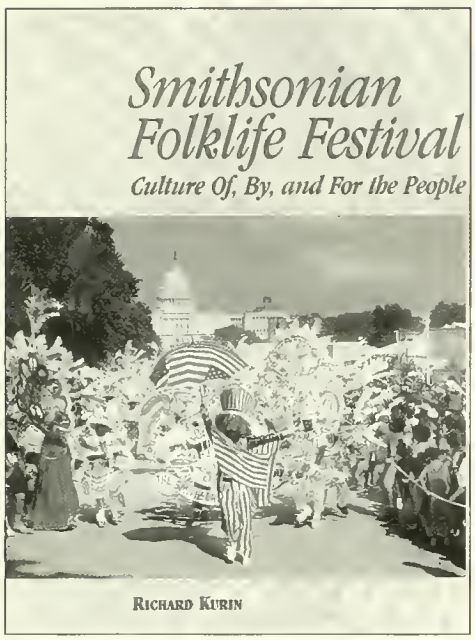
Featuring Cande Aguilar, Sr., Gilberto Pérez, Jr., Gilberto Pérez, Sr., Jaview Pérez

In collaboration with the National Museum of American History's *ENCUENTROS* program, this dance party marks the release of the new Smithsonian Folkways recording, *Taquachito Nights: Conjunto Music from South Texas*, a CD produced in partnership with the Smithsonian and the Narciso Martínez Cultural Arts Center of San Benito, Texas.

* In case of rain, Baird Auditorium, National Museum of Natural History.

Recent Books about the Festival and Smithsonian Folkways

Available at the Festival Marketplace



Smithsonian Folklife Festival: Culture Of, By, and For the People

by Richard Kurin
184 pages, over 200 photos
Full color ISBN 0-9665520-0-8

Price: $10.00

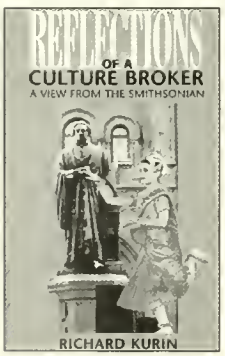
Available through mail order:
(202) 287-7297 or (800) 410-9815
Add $1 for shipping and handling for mail order.

This book provides a Festival history, an explanation of how the Festival is produced, analysis of various programs, and some of the best images and quotes about the Festival over the past 32 years. Excellent for reference, and an attractive gift.



Making People's Music: Moe Asch and Folkways Records

by Peter D. Goldsmith 468 pages, illustrations
Hardbound $34.95
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A history of Folkways and a window into folk music and the cultural history of twentieth-century America.
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Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian

by Richard Kurin 315 pages, illustrations
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Soft cover $17.95 ISBN 1-56098-757-X
An account of the practice of cultural representation in various Smithsonian museums, festivals, and special events.
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Call (800) 785-4612 or (703) 661-1599 to order.

Lily Spandorf Festival Collection

At the Center for Folklife and Cultural Heritage



Lily Spandorf is an artist who has documented aspects of Washington life through her sketches, watercolors, and drawings over the past four decades. For many years her illustrations illuminated the *Washington Star* newspaper. *National Geographic* featured her cityscape of capital life. Paintings of local architecture were turned into a book, *Washington Never More*, the subject of a Barr Weissman film. The White House Historical Association acquired a collection of her "Christmas at the White House" paintings and drawings. The Senate acquired her work documenting the filming of *Advise and Consent*. In 1988 she was the first local solo artist to be exhibited at the National Museum of Women in the Arts. Since 1967 Lily has come to the National Mall every summer to draw scenes from the Folklife Festival. These drawings — watercolors and line drawings — document Festival artists, musicians, personalities, performances, audiences, and major events.

The Smithsonian wishes to acquire Lily's 575-plus drawings of the Festival. They will be housed in the Center's Ralph Rinzler Folklife Archives and Collections, where they will join Ben Shahn's record covers and Woody Guthrie's notebooks and artwork. The acquisition will result in the preservation of the original drawings, the making of digital copies, and the publication of a catalog of images. The drawings will be used for the purposes of research, education, and promotion. A committee has been formed to help solicit contributions to enable the acquisition and preservation of the collection.

If you can help support this effort, ***please fill out the form below***. All donors will be acknowledged in a published catalog of the collection at the level of their donation, and donors of $25 and above will receive one free copy of the catalog.

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I would like my donation properly acknowledged in a list of supporters in the Lily Spandorf Collection catalog when published. ❑ Yes ❑ No
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Mail this card with your check to the above address. Please make checks payable to the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithsonian is a 501(c)(3) organization, so your contribution is tax deductible in the United States. You must subtract the value of any goods you receive from your deduction, which, if you decide to receive the catalog, is $5. The minimum donation to receive a catalog is $25.



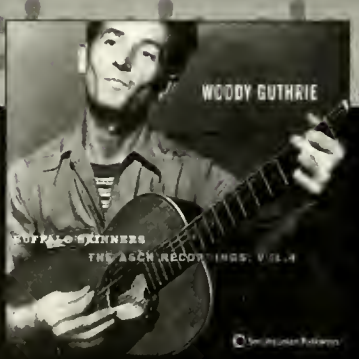
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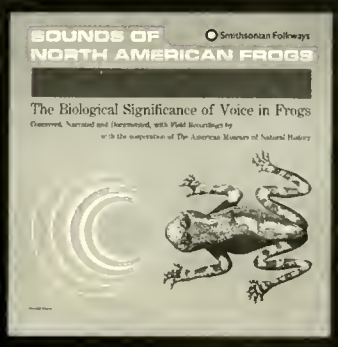
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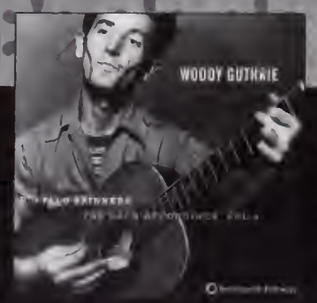
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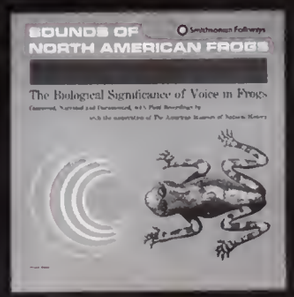
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Romania

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Ralph Rinzler Memorial Concert

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